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CONTENTS

A EDITORIAL

LETTERS

■ OPENING NOTES/PASSAGES

Brian Mayne bids a fondly farewell to Europe; President Bill Clinton keeps a promise to his classmates; Indecent Proposal leads off the box office; Clyde Wells gets short shrift from 24 Sussex Drive; Ann Christie's speech withers the passing of punk rock; Ping-Pong's top men return to a match.

11 COLUMN/CHARLES GORDON

12 CANADA

MPs pay little heed to a campaign to lower their pensions; short-term, the outlook for Newfoundland's economy remains bleak.

14 COVER

24 WORLD

President Bill Clinton's ambitious plan to offer health-care insurance to every American is sure to be costly—and may carry a hefty political price, vodka is again readily available in Moscow and public drunkenness is rising as Russians drown their sorrows in drink.

27 PEOPLE

30 BUSINESS

The success of private-label soft drinks is certain to lead to aggressive competition among beverage makers this summer; Canadians are leading the rush to cash in on a mineral bonanza in South America.

38 BUSINESS WISDOM/PETER C. NEWMAN

4D LIFESTYLES

46 MEDICINE

A quest with roots in Newfoundland propelled medical science towards important discoveries about cancer.

47 TELEVISION

Wild Palma, Oliver Stone's first foray into TV, is the most provocative offering this spring.

SD FILMS

Hollywood opens a new frontier with Fosse; three new dramas treat the theme of dislocation with varying degrees of success.

52 PÖTHES-NCHAM

COVER

THE REAL KIM CAMPBELL

She presents herself as a gifted and determined woman who has excelled at almost everything she has attempted. The delegate count suggests that she will become the new leader of the Conservative party next month, and Canada's first female prime minister. But there is a less laudable side to Kim Campbell's ambition. At times, she seems to resent her own abilities as much as their criticism. —



LIFESTYLES

FLOWER
POWER

Green-thumbed Canadians, gloved and armed, are about to launch the annual crusade to create gardens that will make last year's look pale by comparison. But some gardeners say that mass marketing and current fashion play too large a part in the country's premier summertime passion.



BUSINESS

CANADA
INC.

That venerable institution, Canada's Pacific Ltd., is struggling to reinvent itself as a focused and internationally competitive company. But the attempt is forcing management to make tough decisions about the enterprise that made CP an integral part of the national consciousness: its railroads.





The Kim Factor

From the onset of the Conservative party, an outsider would hardly know that delegates were poised to elect a new prime minister of Canada and, ninth, possibly even the first woman in Canadian history. Then comes to be so little known, so little said about the race. Perhaps it is the main road of the race for jobs in high office. But the Kim Factor, explored in this week's cover story, is also a reason. The polls and delegate counts indicate that Vancouver lawyer Kim Campbell will be the likely winner. But the prominent interest remains either supporting her chief rival, Jean Charest, or sitting on her hands until you wonder what they know that the nation does not. The fact is, there is a high degree of unease about Campbell among her cabinet colleagues, and to water reaches of the party. Even her top supporters talk more about her "wonderfulness" than her vision—and rarely, if ever, about her policies. Part of the problem may be that she is a woman facing the slings of a male-dominated blood sport. Some of it is reminiscent of the visceral opposition to Pierre Trudeau in the 1968 Liberal leadership ("Don't let that bastard win it" barked Judy LaMarsh). But Campbell also has left many colleagues with the sinking feeling that she is more interested in getting there than in what to do when she gets there.

It is a measure of the volatile state of party affairs that a Senior Tory Strategist (STS) reveals that two or three prominent Conservative ministers, including Joe Clark, are still considering a late entry into the leadership race. As volatile as that sounds, the STS maintains that the court of concerned delegates to the party's convention in Ottawa need not be meaningless, that the pledges of support could melt like cheddar on a griddle at the heat of the Prime Minister.

The latest delegate counting breeds suggestions that Campbell is in deep trouble. But here is not just a campaign with a full head of steam. With the winds to go, she has yet to demonstrate that there is water there, there.

Robert Lewis



Cover artists Mary Jensen and E. Kaye Feltner: a multi-level assignment involved a high degree of access about Campbell among her cabinet colleagues and in the party.

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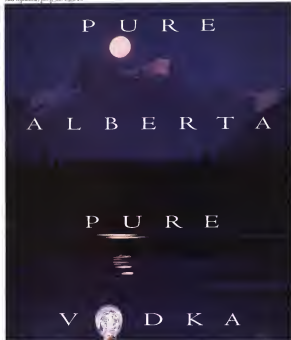
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LETTERS

No patience

One of the many tragedies of the Waco, Texas, holocaust was the impatient incompetence of the FBI and other American agencies ("One brief, one shot," Cover, May 3). Even with recent historical precedents as a guide, the FBI insisted on proceeding the untrained David Koresh into leading his mass suicide—and murder—of adults and children. The bold, technically brilliant Israeli commandos used an Ertzbe posed one alternative that might have been followed. An even more likely alternative would have been to simply wait longer. When compared with the patient year-long diplomacy during the Iran hostage-taking incident, the two months at Waco were a bloodstained message about the 1980s' quickie mentality.

Greg Moore,
Perry Sound, Ont.

Cup runneth over

Your observation of the Stanley Cup centennial ("Dry game," Cover, April 29) has made that issue a collector's item. But now, a word of criticism directed at you, commissioner Gary Bettman. Why is the NHL denying North American fans the opportunity of playing professional hockey by allowing foreign imports into the league? Let us develop our own talent and leave the European stars at home.

Charles Bruce
Ryerson, Sask.

For many, many thousands of young Canadians, hockey is being replaced by basketball as the game of choice. Their parents don't understand it, so they don't try to organize it to death. They don't sit up before seasons for their 20-year-olds. They don't expect every kid to make the NHL. Parents leave the kids alone with their basketball and the kids organize themselves. The kids have fun. What a novel idea.

Mervin Watts,
Vancouver, Man.

Nuclear insurance

Is the story about Ontario Hydro ("A wrong word," Business, April 26), David Brown of the C.D. Howe Institute is quoted as saying: "Nuclear assets are uninsurable. No private market could—or would—handle the inherent risk." This is simply untrue.



French Davidson composed in Waco, Texas, sending a blasphemous message.

Under the Nuclear Liability Act, all nuclear power station operators are forced to carry \$50 million of third-party liability insurance. This coverage is provided by the Nuclear Insurance Association of Canada, a consortium of private insurance companies. Since the act came into force in 1976, Canada's nuclear citizens have paid tens of millions of dollars in premiums to the private insurance industry. Thanks to the superb safety record of Canada's nuclear reactors, not a penny has been paid out in claims.

Gordon Kane,
Pawnee, Ont.

The debt dilemma

Debt is a motor, not an anchor. Peter G. Newman should get off the debt as the only issue ("If we don't crush it, debt will destroy us," Business Watch, April 23). Let's see him address the real problem—the other component of the debt/grass dilemma: product sales—increasing the sale. That is the fundamental that has to be made right, and, as in the corporate world, the debt will look after itself.

R. M. Bennett,
Ottawa

Perhaps Canada and the provinces should consider debanking on this debt restoration. Consider other countries have done it and they are still with us. Of course, from this point on, governments need to balance their budgets, so that they do not have to borrow money on the international money markets again to fulfill their obligations. That's debanking.

ing on the loan better than indenturing ourselves and our children and our children's children in order to feed this insatiable monster?

Mark Jermu,
Guelph, Ont.

Correcting bigotry

Allen Fetheringhan complains about the Accusers' "blood tale of political correctness" ("This Shakespeare! Outlaw Shakespeare," Column, May 18). He had better get used to it because more and more people will challenge our common prejudices—racism, sexism and homophobia—wherever they occur. We don't have to deny history, but we do have to acknowledge bigotry, past and present, until it is eradicated.

A. C. Brown,
Toronto

If I had teenage children now, I would do everything possible to see that they saw Shakespeare as it was originally produced. I would say to them "This play is an accurate portrayal of conditions at that time. Dramatic changes have occurred since then, but they took seven generations of us away either." Have faith that you are contributing to the changes you desire, but remember that you ought to be better citizens before you see the results. We cannot deny our history. By ignoring it, we can appease our present and continue to have hope for the future.

W. T. Bennett,
Sudbury, B.C.

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OPENING NOTES

A reunion at the White House, faint praise for Wells and rocking the Liberals

The lonely farewell

When Prime Minister Brian Mulroney travelled to for his final farewell for a Canadian audience last year, more than 20 journalists accompanied him. But when his final-once, nine-day European farewell tour kicked off last week, the same journalists accompanied him. But when his final-once, nine-day European farewell tour kicked off last week, the same journalists accompanied him. But when his final-once, nine-day European farewell tour kicked off last week, the same journalists accompanied him.



Mulroney with Benoit and others, few 'boys'

press secretary to Mulroney, also wrote the Prime Minister's 1987 biography *'So What Are We For? So What?'*—a favorite Mulroney question mark journalist. With no few 'boys' on his latest trip, the Prime Minister can ask them himself. Talk is cheap.

POP MOVIES

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box-office receipts during the seven days ending on May 5. (In brackets, number of screens/weeks showing.)

1. *Indecent Proposal* (118/1) — \$922,000
2. *Beauty & the Beast* (106/1) — \$847,000
3. *Indian Summer* (81/1) — \$693,000
4. *Splitting Heels* (57/2) — \$520,106
5. *The Dark Half* (45/2) — \$312,900
6. *Copy and Paste* (94/1) — \$307,000
7. *The Crying Game* (96/2) — \$193,900
8. *The Snail* (90/1) — \$141,300
9. *Sideways* (21/1) — \$120,300
10. *The Boyz n the Hood* (44/1) — \$112,000

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BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

1. *Gold-Digging Dianas* (32)
2. *Heartburn*, Timothy Findley (32)
3. *The Client*, John Grisham (32)
4. *The Bridges of Madison County*, Robert Milder (32)
5. *Trying to Love Penny Nether*, Jane Yolen (32)
6. *1911: A Year in the Life of a Soldier*, Joe Studenski (32)
7. *No Other Choice*, David Macaulay (32)
8. *A Suitable Boy*, Vikram Seth (32)
9. *Green Grass, Running Water*, Thomas King (32)
10. *The English Patient*, Michael Ondaatje (32)

NONFICTION

1. *Walking Gervais*, Harold Lloyd (32)
2. *Witness: What Run With The Wolves*, Dorcas Pashley-Elliott (32)
3. *The Great Endicott*, James Dale Davidson and Lord John Hume (32)
4. *Preparing for the Twentieth Century*, Fred Kennedy (32)
5. *Healing and the Mind*, Bill Womersley (32)
6. *The Marriage of Cadmus and Harmony*, Robert Calver (32)
7. *Heavenly Bodies*, David Wilkins (32)
8. *A World of Wonders*, David Wilkins (32)
9. *The Dance of Despair*, Robert Calver (32)
10. *Systems of Survival*, John Jacobs (32)

11. *Politics and the People*

Compiled by Brian Bellamy

WORD FOR WORD

THE LONG AND THE SHORT OF IT

"I would like to congratulate you on your victory in the bidding for the leadership of the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party. These are times of great challenge and opportunity for Albertans and all Canadians, and your strong campaign demonstrated that you have the energy and vision to lead your province. The interests of Albertans are an integral part of our efforts to continue with Canada's economic renewal, and I look forward to working with you on issues of mutual concern. As you prepare to assume your responsibilities as premier, I extend to you and your family my best wishes."

—Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's letter of congratulations to Alberta Premier Ralph Klein, a Conservative, on May 5, 2002



"I wish to congratulate you on your victory. As you prepare to assume the responsibilities of your second mandate, I extend to you and your family my best wishes."

—Mulroney's letter of congratulations to Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells, a Liberal, on the same week many Tories Home for the Holidays in 1990 or the World War II anniversary, after his electoral victory last week



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

Anyone for tables?

In the back and forth debate over open consent spending, the Canadian Table Tennis Association has been caught in only one court. No wonder, since the country's only table tennis association, which will recruit 500,000 more from Ottawa this year, is an example of government waste. Since then, John Shuman, the Ottawa-based association's director general, has been defending his organization. Shuman maintains that it is wrong to single out table tennis as a waste of money. "I could say the same thing," he said, "about basketball or any other sport." For Shuman, the criticism of the National government's budget cuts is a waste of money. Shuman has brought some real-life examples to Canada, where men's team table tennis is the world's oldest women's sport. Shuman, in a final court ruling: "I am sure a lot of people don't know what we do. But our attitude is to just give these athletes."



Shuman member John Shuman

PASSAGES

DIED: Canadian Duncan Macpherson, 66, of pancreatic cancer, at his home in Toronto. For more than 30 years, his renowned caricatures of public figures adorned the pages of *The Toronto Star* and several other publications, including *Maclean's*. He published more than a dozen award-winning collections, including *Macpherson's Animals*, which was named the Canadian News Book of the Year and was a member of the Order of Canada. One of his most famous cartoons was of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, who drew widespread criticism in 1959 when he depicted the production of the *Armageddon* fighter plane. Macpherson directed the Tory leader as a grotesque Mark Twain-like figure. "Let him eat cake."



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

AWARDED: The Association of Canadian Advertisers paid tribute, the industry's highest honor, to award Canadian history magazine editor Lloyd Haddock, 72. The association cited the publisher of *Canadian History* (now *History*) and *History Today* (now *History Today*) for his "extraordinary service to magazines in Canada and for the good of advertising."

AWARDED: The 1993 Stephen Leacock Medal for Humour, to Hamilton Spectator columnist Alan Levesque, 60, for *History for Americans*, a collection of his columns. The award includes \$2,500.

DIED: Influential American writer, critic and teacher Irving Howe, 72, after a stroke, in a New York City hospital. Howe's 1975 book, *World of Our Fathers*, which chronicled Jewish immigrant life in New York, won the U.S. National Book Award. He was editor of *Dissent*, a 35,000-circulation left-wing political quarterly that he founded in 1953.

CLASS OF '68

The year 1968 was a turbulent one for many young Americans. The Vietnam War continued to drain resources with a wrenching moral dilemma. The assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Bobby Kennedy shattered what remained of youthful innocence. And on college campuses across the country, angry students traded textbooks for protest signs, cancelled classes and boycotted other traditional rites of passage that seemed irrelevant. "First King, then Kennedy and Vietnam—everything adulthood came on in our senior year," said Georgetown University graduate Phil Mulvey. Now a banker, Mulvey is helping to organize a 25th anniversary class reunion in Washington next month that he hopes will give 600 fellow graduates a chance to experience some of the fun they missed in 1968. Among the alumni: President Bill Clinton, who is making good on a campaign promise to host the reunion. "He said that if he won the election the party is on at the White House," said Mulvey. "There's a guy who's got trouble keeping his promises to the American people, but he is keeping the one to his classmates."



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE



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BECAUSE SO MUCH IS BEING ON YOUR TIRES.

ANOTHER VIEW



An argument for more argument

BY CHARLES GORDON

Classic souls that we are, we hate the sound of conflict, the sight of blood. Actually, that is not true. We love hockey. But we hate conflict in politics. From the mistiest House of Commons debates lessening appearing on television, viewers long complaining. There was too much arguing, they said, too much disagreement. Why couldn't politicians cooperate instead of bickering all the time?

A case could be made that politicians got the message and began co-operating once. Now, a case can be made that they should get back to bickering as soon as possible.

The case in point: Steven Langdon and his status within the New Democratic Party. Langdon, the federal party's finance critic, decided that he could no longer stand for the economic policies of the New Democratic government of Ontario, led by Bob Rae. That might have been all right, had it not been for a second decision Langdon made—to go public with his first belief.

When he went public, holding a news conference two days after the presentation of a federal budget, he said that Rae, with his policy of spending cuts and deficit reduction, was betraying party philosophy. Langdon's order, Andrew MacIsaac, alleged, Langdon drew, taking away his finance critic's role. Of course, she had every right to do so. Langdon's judgment, in taking the spotlight away from advocacy and onto attackable federal budget was questionable, and a Quebec's Park New Democrat, Dennis Desautels, cast the party counts in all as an independent, citing Ontario government policies in support of reasons and funding shopping, among others. Desautels, an Anglican priest, was also in a fine party tradition, as upholder of the moral ground, and he was right.

On the other hand, the NDP should not be embarrassed as it seems to be. Langdon's disagreement was honorable and it is an honorable tradition. Since New Democrats were elected, order to Queen's Park is in the House of Commons, on a policy of spending cuts and reductions in social services, it would have been surprising—and, in fact, disappointing—had some-

one not spoken out against the Rae policy.

That does not mean the Rae approach is wrong, rather that it should at least be debated by New Democrats. That the debate is a sign of openness, contrasting sharply with the manner of debate that had emerged from under the closed doors of the Tories and Liberals. Debate within the party, then, should be regarded as a positive rather than a constraint.

But what if the party establishment, both in Toronto and Ottawa, could do with a bit fewer positions? The same week that Langdon showed his rebellion streak, a Quebec's Park New Democrat, Dennis Desautels, cast the party counts in all as an independent, citing Ontario government policies in support of reasons and funding shopping, among others. Desautels, an Anglican priest, was also in a fine party tradition, as upholder of the moral ground, and he was right.

Such public dissent accompanies some depressing past. It is not as if the federal and Ontario Tories, who once used to come from the public, when it has the opportunity to express it, is not as much in favor of silent from as you might have thought.

Another case in point, the Charlottetown accord. Take the Meech Lake accord before it, the agreement was supported by all five major political parties. Unlike Meech Lake, Charlottetown was supported by all the parties.

Since both documents contained some potentially troublesome elements, it is logical to assume that many individuals within the established parties had strong reservations. But they suppressed them, kept quiet for the sake of some conception of national unity. They reasoned, presumably, that any public disagreement would jeopardize the accord's chances.

You can see how much good their silence did them. You can see how much good it did for national unity. The people, perhaps thinking that something was being put over on them, probably suspicious of any deal that could have the support of everybody and possibly feeling that someone would speak out on the case so that they could measure their against the group—the people rejected all the political co-operation, all that unity and dumped the accord in last year's referendum.

Many lessons were drawn from that debate. It is widely agreed, as well as accepted by the Yes advocates, that they didn't do a good job of "selling" the accord. The hard lesson that there was probably too much selling and not enough listening. Anyone who has studied the theory of democracy knows that a good idea only gains strength when subjected to debate.

Which brings us to the next in succession Brian Mulroney as prime minister and Conservative party leader. There are some differences among the candidates, but previous few—at least most as public expression of them is considered.

There are various reasons for that, one being that the Tories want to avoid the kind of public embarrassment that has shaken the NDP and another being that they want to avoid embarrassing Brian Mulroney by disavowing themselves from his policies of the past right away.

Self-censorship is not in that they may agree with those policies. Some undoubtedly do, but it is difficult to believe that the only criticism of Tory budgeting from Tories is that it hasn't gone far enough in cutting the deficit. In a party with a strong Tory tradition, a party of Joe Clark and Robert Stanfield, it is reasonable to think that no one of any consequence believes in trying something different. The successors to Clark and Stanfield are silent, while business attacks the Tories for not cutting the deficit more. You can laugh at the help of that, but it doesn't help us face the difficult days ahead.

What will be many good old-fashioned arguments. Let's not be afraid of it. The Constitution, a crucial subject, did not get debated, at least by the major federal parties. As even more crucial subject, party constitution, is not being debated either, at least by the Ontario Tories, who once used to come from the public, when it has the opportunity to express it, is not as much in favor of silent from as you might have thought.

'A CUT ABOVE'

A CAMPAIGN
TO REDUCE THE
LARGE PENSIONS
FOR MPs GETS
LITTLE SUPPORT
IN THE COMMONS

For almost a year, Alan Rockway's lonely struggle has met with a little and a great deal of success in his campaign in the House of Commons to all but banish the 30-year-old Conservative MP for Don Valley East in Toronto, proposed a series of amendments to the parliamentary pension plan. Rockway suggested that benefits should be paid out in 10 or 15 equal qualifying instalments rather than as soon as they leave of office. He also urged his fellow MPs to outlaw "double dipping"—by which former legislators could go to government bodies to draw their full pensions in addition to their own salaries. Those measures, Rockway said in an interview, "are the least we can do to demonstrate to our constituents that we do not consider ourselves a cut above everyone else."

So far, at least, the steps that Rockway regards as a bare minimum have been too much for most of his colleagues to consider. But it may only be a matter of time before decades of the parliamentary pension plan are forced to give ground to their critics. In Alberta last month, Premier Ralph Klein announced plans to abolish pensions for members of the provincial legislature who were elected for the first time after 1986. In so doing, Klein threw down the gauntlet to politicians elsewhere, saying that voters in other jurisdictions would ask why their representatives could do the same thing. Soon after,

Ontario Premier Bob Rae promised to review his province's program. And last week, Treasury Board President Gilles Lacombe requested a year-old pledge to review the House of Commons pension plan, which the Canadian Institute of Actuaries estimates to be 2½ times more generous than a typical provincial pension plan.

Apart from Rockway, a handful of MPs have publicly and regularly called for reform to the existing program. They include New Democratic Party Leader Audrey McLaughlin, Liberal MP David Kilgour, Reform party MP Deborah Grey and Tory backbencher and leadership candidate Patrick Flanagan. But most MPs, who qualify for the plan if they serve a minimum of six years in the Commons, evidently see little need for change. Currently, MPs contribute 10 per cent of their salaries to the plan, with a



CAROLE JACQUES

Conservative MP

Age: 32

First elected: 1984

Current annual pension entitlement:

\$24,000

matching contribution from the federal treasury. If they serve less than six years they are fully reimbursed for their personal contributions—and, if defeated in an election, receive a severance package equal to six months' salary. Once they qualify, MPs are entitled to annual benefits equal to 30 per cent of their average salary over their last paid six years. The amount increases by five percentage points with each additional year of service, to a maximum of 75 per cent after 15 years. That means, for example, that Indian and Northern Affairs Minister Thea Duggan, with 16 years' experience, would receive a pension of more than \$61,000 annually.

Double-dipping offers another way for retired politicians to supplement their income. Although most MPs claim to shun the practice, it continues unabated. Among those who benefit: former NDP leader Ed Broadbent, who collects between \$100,000 and \$132,000 as president of the federally funded International Centre for Human Rights and



DICK JOHNSTON

Alberta Conservative MLA and former provincial treasurer

Age: 53

First elected: 1975

Current annual pension entitlement:

\$73,000

Democratic Development—and another \$45,000 in pension benefits. To do so as well as a 10-year veteran of the Commons, a civil servant would have to contribute to a pension plan for 30 years. Even then, the individual would not be allowed to collect until age 60. That disparity "puts an elected politician out of touch with the concerns of most Canadians," says Robert Fleming, a Toronto-based public policy consultant and former chief administrator of the Ontario legislature.

Canadian politicians are in an enviable position compared to legislators in other countries. In Great Britain, for example, retired MPs receive a maximum of 60 per cent of their salaries, and cannot collect until age 65. By contrast, a Canadian former MP with

15 years' experience as a backbencher would receive \$48,000 annually regardless of age.

Rae's promise last week to review the Ontario legislature's pension plan was prompted in part by the revelation that former Liberal cabinet minister Brian Mulroney, who is 64, will receive an extended pension beginning at \$48,000 annually when he quits politics at the end of May. Under the province's rules, a politician's age and years of experience must add up to at least 55 in order to qualify for a pension. That means that a 40-year-old member, retiring after 15 years' service, would qualify at once for a pension. Despite the debate in Ontario, no immediate change to the law is likely. Other than that Conservative leader Michael Harris, there are few supporters among the province's three political parties for immediate or substantial change.

In Alberta, Klein's proposed pension changes have met with a fire storm of criticism. The premier himself said that his wife "beside me and mine" when he realized that he would not be entitled to a pension under the proposed legislation. Klein's proposed changes, however, are less generous than they might first appear. Those who were elected to the legislature before 1986—the year that Klein himself first won a seat—will continue to benefit from the country's most generous provincial pension plan. In its current form, the plan has existed since 1969, when Alberta MPs voted themselves 30-per-cent pay increases and, consequently, 30-per-cent increases in their pension benefits. Under the plan, MLAs with 20 years' experience receive about \$46,000 to benefits annually upon retirement—and cabinet ministers significantly more than that. One MLA, former treasurer Dick Johnston, could make more from his pension of about \$73,000 than the \$55,000 he currently makes in salary and pensionable allowance as an MLA.

As well, former cabinet ministers now serving as backbenchers are allowed to receive



REMO MANCINI

Ontario Liberal MPP (resigning this month)

Age: 41

First elected: 1975

Current annual pension entitlement:

\$48,000

NDP UPRIDE

Division in the NDP surfaced in the debate surrounding Winston Storten's resignation. Storten's April 28 criticism of Ontario Premier Bob Rae and his emphasis on deficit control, labor leaders, among others, Canadian Labor Congress President Bob White, came out in support of Storten, who had defied the NDP's canon on status publicly that Rae had departed from long-standing NDP principles. But national party leader Audrey McLaughlin stood firm in her decision to punish Storten by removing him from his post of finance critic.

THE SPOONED TOUR

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney began a two-day farewell tour of Europe with three days of meetings in Moscow with President Boris Yeltsin and other Russian officials. Mulroney's itinerary also included Germany, Britain and France. Although the Prime Minister had said that he would hold important meetings on such subjects as aid to Russia, opposition leaders have condemned the trip—and its estimated \$1-million per day—as an extravagance.

ELECTIONAL CHANGES

Bill C-214, the new federal legislation to reform the electoral process, received royal assent. Among the changes, lobby groups will face tough restrictions on advertising during campaigns and spin-off results must be published during the last three days of a campaign.

THE RACE HEATS UP

Gordon Campbell, 44, the popular mayor of Vancouver, entered the race for the leadership of the B.C. Liberal party. Five other candidates are also running, among them prominent lawyer Gordon Wilson, 44, who led his party to official opposition status in the 1981 provincial election but whose image has recently been tarnished because of his relationship with former broker-leader Ted Tyebk, 28. The leadership contention will be held Sept. 10 to 12.

SAPIR SEX

According to a survey by the Canadian AIDS Society, gay and bisexual men across Canada are leading a healthier and happier sex lives. Of the 4,000 gay men questioned, 77 per cent said that they were practicing safer sex, including more regular condom use. As well, more than 80 per cent expressed satisfaction with their sex lives. But society chairman Ross Raymond said, "Our prevention education programs are working."

crete extra pension benefits while still sitting in the legislature. A study conducted in January by the Association of Actuary Teachers concluded that the 10 former ministers now sitting on the back benches receive combined pension benefits of more than \$250,000 a year—or almost \$55,000 each—in addition to their salaries. Under their proposed legislation, benefits to those still qualifying for pensions will change by as little as five per cent.

Because of that, some critics say that Klein's proposed changes are haphazard and unfair. If the law means as expected, it will barely affect benefits for some 10,000 while eliminating their completely for others. Said Fleming: "I do not believe that the average person thinks politicians should get lower benefits than themselves. They just do not want them to get more."

Fleming and some other observers also suggest that politicians have given themselves artificially high pension plans in compensation for salaries that are lower than they should be. Said Fleming: "There is such an outcry when politicians raise their salaries that they tend to leave salaries alone and let investment ways of increasing their pay replace it." Former MPP Paul McCrossan, past president of the Canadian Institute of Actuaries, agreed that MPs are "over-pensioned but underpaid." Said McCrossan: "The average MP makes about the same as the most qualified public school teacher in Toronto—but MPs have far more responsibility." Because of that, McCrossan said, he received his increasing

RANKING THE PENSIONS

Approximate annual payout to a former legislator eligible for full benefits

House of Commons	\$48,000
Alberta	\$46,000
Quebec	\$45,000
Newfoundland	\$42,000
New Brunswick	\$35,000
British Columbia	\$34,000
Ontario	\$33,000
Nova Scotia	\$33,000
Saskatchewan	\$31,000
Manitoba	\$27,000
Prince Edward Island	\$23,000

Figures are adjusted for the amount of extra salary an MP who also counts as a member of either a major or minor pension plan would receive. Figures are based on 1994 pension rates. All figures are rounded to the nearest \$1,000. Some pensioners may be eligible for full benefits.

salaries, reducing pensions and setting 60 as the maximum age for collecting benefits. In an election year, when many senators will likely retire or be defeated, the pensions

debate becomes particularly urgent. The National Citizens' Coalition, a right-of-center lobby group, concluded last fall that 178 of the 265 MPs had the necessary one year's service to qualify for benefits. If all of them chose to start collecting pension benefits immediately and lived to 75 years of age, they would receive a total of \$263 million. The potential payouts are particularly high for parliamentarians who took office in an early age. Former Bloc Québécois MP Jean Lapierre, 37, quit the Commons last year after 13 years service. Now a radio talk-show host in Montreal, he receives a pension of almost \$40,000 annually—even without indexation. He would require to more than \$1.5 million for the rest of his life.

All the more time, some critics argue that the issue of who sets the range for such benefits matters as much as the total benefits themselves. The MP's McLaughlin—who credits that her name has been suggested in her own caucus—has repeatedly urged the government to establish an independent committee drawn from outside the House of Commons to set MP salaries and benefits. This approach, and Fleming's, "is the only appropriate response if elected members are to convince voters. Citizens that they are serious about prioritizing their own houses," that, judging by the reluctance of most elected officials to tackle the issue, taxpayers will have a long wait.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH with NANCY FORD and GARY FINNEN in Ottawa and JAMES HENNESSY in Edmonton



province's restrictive language laws by ending the 15-year ban on the use of English on commercial signs and abolishing the Council de la langue française—the notorious linguistic police. Presumably, the opposition Parti Québécois reacted with outrage, promising to make the francophone options against changes that, in the context of party leader Bernard Landry's campaign, he has already taken to the "tribunal" of Montreal.

Bourassa simply dismissed the opposition attack as the work of "a language extremist," arguing that his government's actions reflected the will of Quebec's "civic and common majority." The same slogan could be used to describe Bourassa's current move, as well as that of the political party he leads. Stung by the apparent restoration of the province's health, Quebec's Liberals are now countering a political fact that suddenly appears much less murky.

BARRY COHEN in Montreal



Wells wearing election victory: 'the people of this province have spoken'

When less is more Clyde Wells shows how to win with restraint

No one needs to tell David Sparkes how tough times are in Newfoundland. In 1984, he borrowed \$250,000 and began selling 10 new rooms to the Seaport Inn, the hotel he and his brother own at Port Union, a fishing community 200 km northwest of St. John's. Construction was completed by October, 1984, but the Inn was still empty. The following January, Sparkes reported little new activity on northern coast that closed the fishery altogether in July 1992, for at least two years. Since then Sparkes has waged a constant battle to stay in business as the tourism, fish company personnel and government officials who assisted him later have disappeared. "I know what Clyde Wells means when he says that the cupboard is empty," explained Sparkes, 37, who voted for Wells's governing Liberals in last week's provincial election. In fact, the province's bleak message of restraint and fiscal prudence captured the grim mood of Newfoundlanders—and signaled what may be a dramatic new trend in Canadian politics.

It was a decisive victory for the tough, no-compromise constitutional lawyer. Overall, Wells's Liberals managed to pick up two additional seats, one of them selected to a recount, as the 25-seat legislature—previously a total of 25, composed with 16 for the Conservatives and one for the New Democrats. The magnitude of the Liberal mandate left political opponents shaken and public sector unions—which had launched an expensive attack on

Wells and his party—devastated. Instead of break promises, Wells repeatedly warned voters to expect more of the cuts and no restraint measures that characterized his first four years in office. Since election night, the province's message tapped into a radical shift in popular sentiment. "The parties that used to be were the ones that promised the most," declared David Wain, president of Ottawa political firm COMPA. "This is gone now—and it is a trend that national political leaders should pay attention to."

Wain notes that Wells's hardline stance against his province's public sector closely parallels a growing conviction across the country that government's costs must be brought under control. "The government is not a good thing," he says. Last week, Wells appeared to be firm in his resolve to institute public sector wage cuts. "The people of this province have spoken and I would hope that all 525,000 of us will acknowledge the will of the majority and proceed in agreement." He declared during his victory speech a commitment between the government and the unions—many of which are without contracts—may yet yield a compromise on how to proceed with the payroll cuts. If not, the province could act unilaterally—first in the conviction that the majority of Newfoundlanders, and Canadians, will be behind him.

Wells's decisive election victory may encourage other governments in Canada to at least try their efforts to curb the public service payroll. In Ontario, Premier Bob Rae's NDP government is currently engaged in negotiations with public sector unions to cut \$2.8 billion from the payroll. Failure to reach agreement on that so-called social contract, the government has warned, could result in the loss of up to 40,000 jobs in the province. Premier Ralph Klein, who is expected to call an election in the near future, has asked the province's 30,000 teachers to accept wage freezes or reductions, while the province is facing its own problems in who to drop and how long a year. And federal Finance Minister Donald Munroe's announced plans to hit April 28 budget to further trim Ottawa's civil service by 16,500 jobs over the next five years.

For their part, public sector unions espousing in Newfoundland acknowledge that Wells's victory was a bitter blow. "The election has changed the ground rules," said Arthur Sweeney, a junior-high physical education teacher and Newfoundland Teachers' Association member in Corner Brook. Last week, Wells appeared to be firm in his resolve to institute public sector wage cuts. "The people of this province have spoken and I would hope that all 525,000 of us will acknowledge the will of the majority and proceed in agreement." He declared during his victory speech a commitment between the government and the unions—many of which are without contracts—may yet yield a compromise on how to proceed with the payroll cuts. If not, the province could act unilaterally—first in the conviction that the majority of Newfoundlanders, and Canadians, will be behind him.

JOHN DEWOLFE in Port Union with GARY FINNEN in Ottawa

BOURASSA'S TIMELY RETURN

There was an almost palpable sense of relief in Robert Bourassa's voice as he stood, again, with an orange, outside the Liberal Party's (orange) main in Quebec City last week. "It was very, very happy," he said. The reason for that reaction, a statement by his physician, Dr. Steven Rosenberg, that the Quebec premier had "an excellent response" to the experimental drug he is using to combat his skin cancer, and that Bourassa "is now in excellent health and no further treatment is required at this time." Not only did the treatments diminish the immediate threat to the Quebec premier's health, they had also made it possible for Bourassa to postpone a decision on his political future. "The situation has returned to normal," Bourassa remarked, cheerfully admitting that he no longer had to "argue" to deal with his prospects for either retirement or reelection. "For the time being, I'm back to business as usual."

Bourassa's aides and associates in the Quebec Liberal Party have been waiting for him to hear that message. They were

The Real Kim Campbell

BY E. KAYE FULTON AND MARY JANIGAN

Kim Campbell knew how to become a celebrity long before she learned how to be an effective politician. When she joined the race to succeed British Columbia Premier William Bennett in 1986, she was a policy adviser in his office. Within her 11 appearances in traditional campaign hoopla, wearing free food and beer, Campbell proved delegates in a test with a string quartet. Her appearance morphed into the arena with bands and banners, Campbell entered behind a lone pair to deliver a stinging assault upon the race's clear leader, William Vander Zalm. When she came out on the first ballot, with just 13 votes out of 1,284 cast, she threw her support behind Vander Zalm's chief opponent. According to conventional political wisdom, she did everything wrong. But the delegates and the media remembered the determined woman who had audaciously reached beyond her station. As *Vancouver Times-Colonial* political columnist Tim Flacco noted at the time: "She was the star of the show."

That brash self-assurance captured the pattern of a lifetime. Kim Campbell has always dared to take risks and to reach for new challenges. Bold as not confide in her, her own instincts and her own agenda often take precedence over the traditions of any group. Her political career path begins at the Vancouver school board in 1980 and climbs steadily past the provincial legislature in Victoria to Parliament Hill in 1986. Each step along the way was shrewdly calculated to bring increased power and public recognition. But Campbell has rarely improved long enough to any level to complete the record of accomplishments that her bold style seems to promise. Even at her strongest, as the indefatigable portfolio, she was better known for her competence than for the substance of her achievements. Now, after little more than four years in cabinet, she is reaching past more experienced politicians for the ultimate Canadian electoral prize: the job of Prime Minister. Even before she announced her candidacy she was the favorite, and she still holds an impressive lead. Last week, *Scotiabank News* estimated that Campbell had the support of 45 per cent of the delegates chosen to attend the June 8 to 10 convention.

The 46-year-old Campbell brings formidable assets to her quest. Tough-minded and articulate, she has withstood criticism over such policies as the \$4.4-billion purchase of antiterrorism helicopters. Stylish and extroverted, she will change the way we do politics in this country. "She can master issues with ease and deliver clear answers to an audience with self-deprecating humor and biting wit. She has demonstrated a lifelong dedication to learning," says political

Intelligent, brash, calculating and often lonely, she has always been driven to succeed



analyst Gerry Kristianson, the president of Pacific Public Affairs Ltd. in Victoria. "She is one of the few people in politics that I know who actually grows in the job and changes."

But there is another, less favorable side to Campbell's ambition. She is hard to change her mind once she takes a position. If her opinions are adamant or disordered, she often responds with brusque disdain. At times, she seems to resent her critics as much as she does their criticism. As former B.C. premier William Vander Zalm told Maclean's: "There used to be a joke. When Kim's idea, it probably isn't any good."

That drive to take credit—and to take control—appears to be a pivotal force in Campbell's life. She presents herself as a rebel and determined woman who has excelled at almost everything she has attempted. But as a month-long Maclean's exploration of Campbell's life reveals, she has achieved that image largely by adroitly concealing details and editing facts. Campbell, her immediate family and her two former husbands refuse to discuss personal business such as her divorce. In an unusual story, she has compiled lists of friends from childhood to the present, who willingly accept harmless anecdotes about her life to reporters. And when she recounts her achievements, she often takes subtle credit for far more than she actually accomplished. Although she has often disputed unfavorable accounts of her experiences, she has not corrected frequent erroneous reports that she has postgraduate degrees in political science. She has also been credited with proficiency in German, Russian, French and, most recently, Yiddish—but only her French met the fact-checker's level.

In 1983, when she was the 35-year-old Vancouver school board chairman, Campbell told a reporter for *The Vancouver Sun* that her abundance of natural talents—"by virtue of my genes"—made it difficult to decide what to do with her life in the future. In a later interview, she described her adolescence as an "overwhelming" time of Campbell's childhood: he was diagnosed with the first statement. But most were perplexed by the second. They remembered her as a cheerful, outgoing companion. Few even mentioned her names when she suddenly disappeared at the age of 12, that she no longer wanted to be known as Jeri Phoenix, the names that her mother chose for her. From then on, she was to be called Kim. Says Vancouver accountant April Marshall, Campbell's best friend in public school: "I was aware that her parents broke up and that her name left. Kim didn't make it a big thing. However she felt about it, she internalized it."

Perhaps Campbell concealed her feelings because divorce seemed so unusual in her middle-class Vancouver suburb at Kesteven. It was 1959 when her parents' marriage ended. One of the most popular television shows was *Father Knows Best*, with its saccharine-voiced portrayal of family harmony. Obviously, at least, Campbell's friends lived well-adjusted

George Campbell and six-year-old April Phaedra



with sister Alix (right)

at home, 1983



in public school

Prince of Wales high school, Grade 10



1982 Vancouver school board meeting



Grade 8 Saint Ann's Academy



law school graduation



COVER

kers in an orderly world. Her own quarrelling parents, George and Lisa, attempted to mediate their daughters, April, 13, and Ann, 14, from the pressures of their marriage by sending them to boarding school as Vikings while they stood to watch out their differences. Before the school year ended, Lisa had died, first in England, and then in the Mediterranean and the Caribbea to crew sailboats with the man that she would later marry, William Young.

The Campbell marriage, like many of that period, was founded on wartime romance. A soldier with the Scottish Highlanders, George Campbell met Lisa Cook in 1943 while he was stationed in Port Alberni on Vancouver Island. She fell to become a seismometer operator at such stations as Halifax and Ottawa. He was posted to Trent, N.S. Their relationship survived through letters and visits, until they married, shortly before George Campbell went overseas in September 1944. Wounded on the Italian front four months later, he returned to British Columbia in May, 1945—to be greeted by his new wife and his three-year-old daughter, Alix. The couple had only daughters. They planned to live on Lisa's ancestral farm near Victoria's shore while George enrolled in a general arts program at Victoria College. (On March 13, 1967, at Port Alberni, April Phaedra arrived, bearing the family name that her mother's name became an author.

Six months later, the young family moved to Vancouver, where Campbell completed his arts degree at the University of British Columbia. His marks were too low for his first ambition, medicine, but he was accepted into the law faculty. The Campbells settled into an outwardly traditional pattern. After several moves, the upwardly mobile family moved in 1954 into a matching white stucco and brown trimmed house in a coterie called in Kermesse. George Campbell, who was called in the bar as 1955, set up a general law practice. Alix took up ballet, while April studied the piano and highland dancing. Their father captured their achievement on eight millimeter film. As George Campbell told *Maclean's* "I was brought up to be seen and not heard. We were going to be more enlightened."

But the marriage was dissolving. Although the Campbells were Anglican, they sent their girls to St. Ann's Academy, a Roman Catholic boarding school. April Marshall recalls that her friend would not talk about the tensions of leaving home. "I remember asking her, 'Are you scared?' She would go to. She viewed it as a non-violent adventure," says Marshall. "She would be that out what it would be like at a girl's school, to wear a uniform."

At St. Ann's, the Campbell sisters lived in a residence with 16 other boarders who dressed alike in gray white blouses and blue ties. In the midst of that imposed uniformity, Campbell topped her class of 50 Grade 8

'She just kind of gritted her teeth and went on with it'

students. Her teacher, Sister Eileen Gallagher, remembers the vibrant girl with the cropped blond hair as her best student in 39 years—the only one who correctly answered all questions on an 80 test. "I never saw any one who showed so much," Gallagher told *Maclean's*. "We couldn't evaluate her so because she made a perfect score. It worked out to be 132 but that was inaccurate because we couldn't find the ending."

According to the man, her poor student never mentioned her parents' marital difficulties—even when her mother left home, midway through the school year. In public, Campbell assumed the surprising May Queen who inspired a magazine campaign in honor of her charisma. In private, the stricken daughter hid behind the telephone in the hall with her sister, exploring their father, now alone in Vancouver, to let them come home. "I made them stay at school in Grade 10 year," says George Campbell. "I thought it was kind of cute that they would go to look after their dad."

When the sisters returned to Vancouver at the end of June, their mother had all but vanished from their lives. Ten years would pass before Kim Campbell saw her again. Campbell would later credit her mother as her closest female influence. But as a teenager, the sting of apparent rejection hit deep. Recalls George Campbell, "Kim had a tender heart. She didn't cry much, but she would tell it just the same."

In Grade 10, at Prince of Wales Secondary School in Vancouver, Campbell gave a gold brooch, capped with her initials, "Jew"—a gift from her mother—to schoolmate Ralph White, whom she had begun dating a year earlier. She did not

bother to remove it when she and White parted in Grade 11. As for her change of name, Campbell told *Maclean's* "I took back on it as the classic manifestation of adolescent trust and distancing yourself from these things that we put on."

She lacked the aspects of her life that she could control with boundless energy. She was president of the student council and valedictorian for the class of 1964. She organized clubs for high school overachievers and wrote lyrics to music that she composed on the piano and the guitar. Her poems were published in the school's annual literary supplement. Says former boyfriend White, now a production manager at Pacific Press in Vancouver: "She has always been a very strong person. She just kind of grinded her teeth and went on with it."

At home, there was a new face at the table. Although George Campbell declines to discuss his "emotional difficulties," friends recall that he was briefly married to a woman named Garry, barely older than Alix. "They were the three women when Garry came on the scene," says a family friend. But, there was fiction, partly because Campbell believed that it was Garry's job to discipline the children. Added the friend: "If you are George with two young daughters who are coming in late at night, how do you get your girls into bed at night? Garry has more control than I do." Campbell's biographers The family does not discuss her.

Despite Campbell's veneer of self-discipline, she did not know what she wanted to do with her life. Under the category of "future" in her high school yearbook, she listed "mathematics or political science or law, then travel." Her ambivalence continued for the next five years while she earned an honors degree in political science. That training provided the framework for her emerging conservatism. The UBC campus, like many universities at the time, 1960s, was a hotbed of radicalism. Campbell, who lived in the Vietnam War and calls for free love. As vice-president of the student government, Campbell positioned herself as a moderate and a traditionalist. She found comfort in the writings of Edmund Burke, the 18th-century British political philosopher who lauded tradition, social stability and responsible leadership by the aristocracy. Her propensity shied her more radical colleagues. "She looked like a straight night-winger, well dressed, with fully bound hair," fellow student council member Sam Pinsky, now a political columnist, recalls. "I thought, 'Oh God. Here's the next regime.'"

But the strongest influence on Campbell's intellectual life was her new boyfriend, Nathan Dawsey, a flamboyant UBC mathematics professor. According to friends, the two began to date in 1966, the year that Campbell gave a gold brooch to her first boyfriend. Campbell was 20 in 1967, known to his friends as "Tina," was the 45-year-old father of three daughters. The relationship inter-

cheered Campbell in a cultural life of intellectual children and neoliberal eccentricity. Donia sky, a chess and bridge expert from Winnipeg's north end, boasts that he once played Soviet chess master Boris Spassky in a three-day match. But Cuban-born David Sauter presented him with a chess set. At dinner parties, he defended Britain's rapid class system and flustered his right-wing wives.

Donia's anger upon his wife's move produced from Campbell today acknowledges Campbell's cultural irregularities have often stated that she did postgraduate work in the summer of 1969 at the University of Oregon in Eugene. In fact, she took one undergraduate course—a four-year political science course on revolution—which could be applied towards a postgraduate degree. Campbell was in Oregon because Donia was there. The inveterate professor had taught summer institute sessions at the University of Oregon since 1960.

In 1968, he taught two postgraduate courses, in mathematical analysis and algebraic systems. The two classes were furnished with equipment in a small complex with a swimming pool. They parted with Donia's faculty colleagues, taking the male and female leads in impromptu performances of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. Records their friend Betty Brown, who is married to former University of Oregon mathematics professor Ben Brown. "I noticed during those times with Tami that she was very self-confident and had a lot of presence. After all, they were not married yet. That's common sense. Tami was looking down their nose, but these were not a lot of people in that situation."

In the fall of 1969, the two returned to UBC where Campbell began work on her master's degree at the Institute of Neoliberal Studies. She was an excellent student, earned UBC associate professor Jim Solecki taught her Soviet economics and elementary Russian. "Once in a while you would get a student with some theoretical mind," he recalls. "Not only do these students analyze what you're doing, they always relate it to it and see that the underlying pattern comes out correct." But Campbell also completed her master's degree in 1969; she applied for a Canada Council doctoral fellowship. Coincidentally, Donia's work as a coordinator on the Canada Council selection committee (1969-1970) Campbell was. In October, 1970, she abandoned UBC—and moved to England with a four-year doctoral fellowship, worth between \$3,000 and \$5,000 per year, for studies in Soviet government at the London School of Economics.

Campbell's studies at LSE reinforced her interest in the Soviet system. She was a student of Leonid S. Shapira, a brilliant sociologist who interpreted his studies on a

In London, she acquired a loathing for leftist ideology



Campbell in 1960s in a kitchen, quiet and a warning.

three months later of the Soviet Union. Campbell emerged from his influence with a loathing for leftist ideology—and a profound respect for the law. But, once again, she abandoned her studies. Donia had moved to London in 1972 as a visiting professor at Queen Mary College at the University of London. The couple married that September. When his sabbatical ended in August, 1973, Campbell returned home.

She found herself inaugurating at the bottom rung of the academic hierarchy—a place that would become wretchedly familiar.

More recently, Campbell has disparaged universities as "the last bastion of great science in this country." But her lack of a postgraduate degree certainly hampered her prospects. According to Campbell, university officials did not respond to her application for a teaching position in Soviet studies, London, in January, 1975, after an 18-month hiatus as wife and stepmother, she joined the lowly ranks of UBC's seasonal lecturers. In 1977-1978 she taught two courses: Contemporary Ideology 285 and International Politics 204.

Campbell maintains that she was an excellent teacher. The experience, she recalls, was "like watching flowers." Still, she was not offered a tenured position. "It didn't matter how good I was," Campbell complains. "People would say to me that if I finished my PhD, I would get a permanent job. I would point out that the last five people they hired were hired without a PhD." Despite that claim, academics rarely appoint seasonal lecturers who lack postgraduate degrees to tenured positions.

Campbell's career was stalled. But instead of resuming postgraduate work to improve her chances for advancement, she did something that has since become familiar: she relocated into another position. In 1978, she found a job at the Langara Campus of Vancouver Community College, teaching politics and history. Although some faculty members grumbled that she lacked proper credentials, she replaced a full-time teacher who was on sabbatical. When that teacher decided to return in 1979, the 30-year-old Campbell was relegated to part-time status, teaching three night courses. Records Campbell: "I said to myself, I don't want to be 40 years old, wondering whether I'm going to have a full teaching load. The writing was on the wall."

It was a message that prompted her to change the direction of her life. Although she did not aspire to a career in law, "I knew that there was a lot that we could do with a law degree." In the back of her mind the idea of going into politics came. During her three years at UBC law school, she was known for asking intense questions—and she earned good marks. But law did not satisfy her craving for advancement and recognition. In 1980, after only two months in law school, Campbell won a position as teacher on the Vancouver school board. In the city, it was a low-level political role. But most teachers on the now-defunct Vancouver board played politics as though it were politics warfare. It was a natural fit for the headstrong Campbell. She preached both restraint and democratic progress for gifted students. She was a new kind of educator's work. She was a left-leaning law student, and, until Christmas, 1981, she continued to teach at



With Vander Zalm during "Secret convention '80: the star of the show"

Langara. As she began to edge her husband out of the role of school principal, rather than lay off teachers, to meet its operating budget. "We went into the meeting and by the back of the door, Kim got the first job," records Deniro. "She turned around and saw that the position that we had all agreed to take. It was like pulling a lampard and the canon turns around and blinds you." Despite adding that life was complicated during Campbell's tenure, "There was not such substance. It was gallery spectacle chosen."

In the spring of 1983, Campbell applied to stand at the respected Vancouver law firm of Fisher Downes. Her former legal colleague and current B.C. court judge, David Campbell, recalls that some senior partners were warned that she was not committed to a lifetime legal career. They accepted her when she explained that she was going to stay down at school board chairman. But several weeks later,

she moved before a public meeting that the board should not have from the role of school principal, rather than lay off teachers, to meet its operating budget. "We went into the meeting and by the back of the door, Kim got the first job," records Deniro. "She turned around and saw that the position that we had all agreed to take. It was like pulling a lampard and the canon turns around and blinds you." Despite adding that life was complicated during Campbell's tenure, "There was not such substance. It was gallery spectacle chosen."

In the spring of 1983, Campbell applied to stand at the respected Vancouver law firm of Fisher Downes. Her former legal colleague and current B.C. court judge, David Campbell, recalls that some senior partners were warned that she was not committed to a lifetime legal career. They accepted her when she explained that she was going to stay down at school board chairman. But several weeks later,



Campbell and Vander Zalm in a formal setting, possibly at a political event.

"I don't really think that he has any handicap other than being a Quebecker."

THE TORY RACE

As the process of selecting delegates for the June 19 to 23 Conservative leadership convention wound its way to a close, Kim Campbell appeared to be enjoying a new lead over her nearest rival, Jean Charest. Not more than a quarter of the delegates surveyed by The Canadian Press claimed to be undecided, levels not developments.

If more intensive surveys to include a two-day health care option to extend spending cuts. Charest said. He suggested that points might have to be paid for each revision now covered by producers. Further, Campbell said she would be willing to consider medical workers.

Liberal leader Jean Charest said that both Campbell and Charest are dropping it they think they can make the deficit less over five years.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"I don't really think that he has any handicap other than being a Quebecker."

—Jeanne Fargnoli, a volunteer worker for the Charest campaign re-elected Ontario

Social Credit party officials ruled the high-profile Campbell in an Vancouver Centre riding in the April 1983, provincial election. To Campbell's amazement, she accepted. "She said at the time, 'Don't worry about it. I won't say.'"

Results came. Campbell lost, but her political ambitions were dashed. After finishing and completing her sabbatical year, she brought a \$216,000 three-year salary over looking False Creek at downtown Vancouver. But her heart was not in her job. Asked by B.C. Premier Bennett to work in his office in September, 1985, she left at the whim.

When Bennett resigned in May, 1986, Campbell learned her sabbatical year to re-choose him. She ran against her own boss, Bennett's principal secretary, Bud Smith. And she defeated the future premier, Vander Zalm, with the winning "Charisma without substance is a dangerous thing." Vander Zalm later. Unfortunately, Campbell denied his charges, claiming that the Social Credit ministers in the ruling of Vancouver/Post Grey. In October, 1986, she won her seat in the legislature, already an outcome as the women's caucus.

There was, however, a new member of stability in her personal life. Campbell had met Howard Edley, a lawyer for the B.C. attorney general's ministry, when she worked in Bennett's office. Edley was a quiet, reserved former UBC law professor. They married in August, 1986, coinciding between her Vancouver home and a third-floor provincial work beat, riding the Westview line, which they received a nameless new Victoria.

The next two years were politically turbulent. Campbell emerged aligned with an influential group of dissidents who opposed

Vander Zalm's desire to support his federalist/conservative/Christian conservatism as government policies. When the Premier announced that he was unilaterally suspending public funding for abortions, she denounced him. That clash was enough to ensure that the ambitious MLA would never get her coveted cabinet post.

But as Campbell's career stagnated in Victoria, new opportunities beckoned in Ottawa. Campbell's former law partner, Camp, is the son of Tory adviser Edman Camp and the nephew of Senator Norman Atkins. The son of a master strategist. In 1983, Campbell met David Camp to introduce her to his world. Camp arranged dinner. Although Campbell gave no hint of her federal ambitions, she gifted Adams with politics, public life.

'I have made some very strong initiatives'

and organization. Adams was an ground enough to keep in touch. In 1980, Adams asked her to challenge the Liberal leader Jim Turner in his riding of Vancouver-Quadrant. Adams assumed that Campbell was a strong local candidate who would distract Turner from his national campaign. Campbell was flattered but she was not meant to resign her provincial seat to run in a riding that she could not win.

Another opportunity soon arose. On Sept. 26, 1980, Vancouver Centre MP Patricia Carney announced her retirement. Five days later, Mulroney called an election for Nov. 21. Carney's campaign chairman, lawyer Lloyd Knott, says that the NDP's Campbell was an obvious replacement but that she was initially reluctant to enter the race. "Ottawa is a long way from home—five hours in the air and three train zones," he recalls. "And she had a nice lifestyle." That hesitation dissolved when Campbell watched Turner denounce the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. The party's strongest B.C. defender, former international trade minister Carney, was retiring. Says Knott, "It was the opportunity to lead the charge on free trade."

And here Campbell charged. She resigned her legislative seat, secured the uncontested nomination and played a key role in the win. The spirited defence of the free-trade pact caught the attention of Mulroney. Throughout the 1980 campaign, the Prime Minister mentioned the services of about 30 potential ministers, including Campbell. When Mulroney defeated the NDP, Mulroney named Campbell. Exports is senior Tory. "He really did give Campbell in a very interactive way for the party."

The new MP and her husband moved to Ottawa. Although they retained their Vancouver home, they also took over the lease as Carney's apartment in downtown Ottawa. Carney bequeathed furniture, bedding, books, dishes and a vacuum cleaner. Campbell brought only her suitcase, her favorite books, travel coupons and an exercise grip of Vancouver harbor. While Campbell explored Parliament Hill, Fidybald worked as a legal adviser to the Immigration and Refugee Board.

Within Ottawa's intricate bureaucracy, Campbell was quickly accepted as a potential star.



The new justice minister in 1980 (top) with father at campaign kickoff in Vancouver. Fidybald (above) is...

Mulroney named her to the junior ranks of his new cabinet, as minister of state for Indian Affairs and northern development. But he also deliberately positioned her to learn how Ottawa operated. Campbell was on two cabinet committees, including the special committee of council, which approved all federal appointments and regulations, the state and lobby of government. When appointed, she worked with two of Ottawa's most skilled civil servants, deputy minister Barry Swain and associate deputy minister Fred Duncan.

As always, Campbell jumped at the chance to learn. Every Monday morning, she visited Swain's office for long-running briefings on the federal government. A line of the British television series *Yes, Minister*, she nicknamed both men "Sir Humphrey"—an allusive tribute to the show's comical senior civil servant. "Between the two of us," Duncan recalls, "we gave her access to much experience—as always, how to find her way around. She came to the department as a highly accomplished political scientist and I guess we were providing the graduate school. She very quickly understood what the issues were."

The Prime Minister obviously agreed. In February, 1981, he chose Campbell to be Canada's first female attorney general and justice minister. For the quizzical Campbell, the job was not easy. To test her legislation through Parliament, she had to compromise and to trust her colleagues' views with respect. Her most painful personal experience was the 17-month debate over her proposals to strengthen Canada's gun control legislation. Many ardent anti-weapon advocates, many rural, well-armed, loved gun control as a rural lifestyle. The minister advised and mediated the legislation until it finally passed in November, 1981. Calgary MP Barbara (Bob) Sparrow, who led an internal party revolt against the original bill, is now a strong Campbell supporter. "She has become more open, but that is through experience," Sparrow says.

But Campbell had a heavy personal price for those lessons. She worked seven early mornings until late evening almost every day of the week. Her husband, meanwhile, was a middle-class bureaucrat with little state and even less income. In March, 1981, Fidybald (the two filed for divorce last January) Campbell left her mother's house at Victoria when she and Fidybald provincial government lawyer, spent the week listening to 1980's rock 'n' roll records.

Then, with her lifelong pattern of discipline, Campbell went back to work. On her few free evenings, she dined with colleagues such as External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, usually sharing her diagnosis, that only when she saw with the overbearing achievement who cracked jokes, translated her colleagues and read, fulfilled, up the parliamentary staircase. Campbell says that she read periods of her political sessions during that time with

a partial gaze: "It seemed easier to me," she recalls. "Because of the breakdown of my marriage and the loneliness, I was wondering if I would be able to continue doing this at all."

Campbell survived and eventually thrived. She transferred her Vancouver home into a downtown of Vancouver and Canadian art. The best parties in a spring (celebrations of white rhinoceroses, purple thyme and claret) were Christmas Eve, George and his third wife, Margaret, and also her family and son. Her mother, who died in 1983, was in separate occasions. Vancouver's reputation Campbell's refuge. In her third-floor den, which overlooks her riding, she keeps a table that holds a birthday cake. "When she wants to have silence and comfort and reflection," says her friend Diane Firth, a Vancouver gallery owner, "she looks out over the city at three and a half hours."

In Ottawa, Campbell mastered her portfolio. Between February, 1980, and January, 1983, she served 26 bills through Parliament. Most of those laws were pragmatic compromises. Although she has always supported a woman's unconditional right to abortion, she capitulated to the anti-abortion forces when she took over the Justice portfolio. She abstained—and presided—legislation that mandated abortion in the Criminal Code with the stipulation that doctors could only perform the procedure when the woman's health was in danger. (The Senate declined that bill in January 1982.) She introduced laws to increase penalties for young offenders, reduce the appeal process for convictions and curbed the presentation of a rape victim's personal history. Her first major initiative as justice minister was typical of her approach. She introduced legislation that prohibited discrimination against homosexuals—but which also outlawed same-sex marriage. (That bill is unlikely to pass before the next election.) "I don't think you can take any position on it," Campbell says. "But I have made some very strong initiatives." In fact, some critics argue that Campbell's legislative record was driven away by the need to respond to court decisions that by personal conviction.

It was in justice that Campbell first encountered the only other force in her party's fortunes: the opposition. As the Liberal's second-in-command, she had absorbed an abiding respect for the principles of law and the rights of the individual. But in Ottawa, she argued that the law was not a neutral system; it was by

and in favor of white men. "There is no question that racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination are closely systemic problems in the justice system," she told a Vancouver symposium on women and the law in 1981.

As for minister's public status, given, he believed the system political race also expanded, with added results. The move to the Justice portfolio brought membership in eight potential cabinet committees. Campbell already attended most meetings, armed with pointed questions and firm views on social subjects.



Campbell with leadership rival Patricia Carney (left), Garth Turner, Jean Charest and James Edwards.

that were out within her portfolio. One of her allies, senior communications minister Mike MacKay, says that she actively defended his cultural programs against court-charging colleagues. "It was obvious that she had read her briefs, she had notes and she knew what we were talking about," says the Quebec nationalist. "We had good discussions from then to now, she was very good in the cultural area. She was talking about the need to look political." But Campbell's will appear to take issue with her few minutes against multiculturalism. Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark, for one, complained grudgingly that last summer's constitutional negotiations that Campbell was interfering with cabinet advice on the table.

Campbell also aroused indignation among Conservatives in her role as political opponent for British Columbia. As the chief opponent of her province's interests and her party's fortunes, she promised the earliest scientific probe in Canadian history, the proposed KAMU physics laboratory at the University of British Columbia for the advanced study of subatomic particles. At Campbell's urging,

Ottawa offered to contribute \$200 million towards the \$1 billion construction job in September, 1991, and then offered to fund a third of the annual operating costs, estimated at \$100 million. When the government decided even more money, Ottawa secretly decided to withdraw from the project. The federal cabinet agreed that a would announce an investigation into the extent of information support and handling for the scheme. It would then use that lack of information support as an excuse to delay—forever.

Complicated as it was, Campbell's never been published.

As a member of cabinet, Campbell was bound to not let the decision to reveal all of her June, 1982, secret, she continued to generate herself publicly as an anti-KAMU leader who was fighting to deliver the federal funds in her region. An estimated several hundred bureaucrats complained to Mulroney that Campbell works for herself, not for the government. "That experience told me that she was a genuine opportunity," says Mulroney.

Nevertheless, Campbell is proud of the only powerbroker who truly inspired, Mulroney. Last January, he selected her as Canada's first female deputy minister. That cabinet shift sent a clear signal that Mulroney recognized her role as a powerbroker who was the only one to join the ranks of possible successors. Seven weeks later, the Prime Minister announced his resignation.

The founder of the European Commission, French statesman Jacques Monnet, once quoted an adage: "There are two kinds of people: those who tell you what is wrong, and those who tell you what is right." Campbell has no doubt that she would prefer it to be the latter. Prime Minister, she has little experience in government. She has talked about how she would include the public in the decision-making process. She has unveiled few concrete policies to unite and integrate Canada's conflicting regions and uncoordinated groups. Her record as the Justice portfolio provides some evidence that she can forge agreement on substantive action. But her extensive fear for self-protection, her drive to be in the middle of the political scene over the interests of her own and the interests of her party, has shown that she has the makings of a political star. She must now convince Canadians that there is substance beneath that style. The Minister must prove that there is something that she brings to the table.



THE COST OF CARE

After dark, the rooftop helipad near the Methodist Medical Center in Dallas, Texas, offers a spectacular view of the city's glittering skyline. But the small group of people waiting on the pad shortly after 11 o'clock one evening last week were focused on a single blinding light rapidly approaching from the east. An ambulance was chopping its way urgently through the night sky with a Hispanic male on board, bleeding from a gunshot wound to the chest. Minutes after the helicopter touched down, paramedics wheeled him to Salinas, 34 miles away, to an emergency room where a dozen specialists worked to contain the damage done by a 20-caliber bullet. By midnight, Salinas's condition was stable enough for him to be transferred to intensive care. And an order returned to the emergency room a nurse began to tally a bill that had already topped \$12,700.

Any one patient's care accounts for just a

BILL CLINTON'S HEALTH REFORM PLANS CARRY A HEFTY PRICE TAG

fraction of the roughly \$1.36 trillion that Americans will spend on health care this year. But with the cost of treating everything from gunshot wounds to cancer rising at almost five times the rate of inflation in the United States, health care has become one of the hottest issues confronting President Bill Clinton. The high costs are compounded by a profitable health insurance industry that in recent

years has offered clients less protection from catastrophic medical bills. And about 34 million Americans, or 14 per cent of the population, lack any health insurance. As a presidential candidate, Clinton promised to introduce critical health reforms, and now Americans say they expect "real" surveys indicate that Clinton has the backing of 80 per cent of the population for a policy that would guarantee universal access to medical care.

But Clinton's hopes for producing a health-care plan during his first months in office have hit a wall. He has encountered fierce opposition from doctors and the health industry lobby, as well as congressmen—especially Republicans—who oppose the new taxes that will likely be needed to fund the program. Last week, the White House delayed the announcement of a health-reform plan—being prepared by a task force led by the President's wife, Hillary

Doctors operating on accident victim in California: best in the world?

Rodham Clinton—for a second time, probably not just once.

Most observers predict that Clinton will embrace a concept that the health-care community knows as "managed competition." In essence, the notion is to exert cost-consciousness by creating alliances of individuals and small businesses that would negotiate collectively with insurers for the lowest-cost coverage. Washington would also require insurers to provide basic coverage to everyone, regardless of any existing health problems, and the government would take care of people unable to afford insurance on their own. The estimated price tag: from \$40 billion to \$750 billion a year, depending on the generosity of benefits.

Even critics concede that the Clinton plan would ease the burden on Americans who now lack medical insurance. But whether managed competition will contain the cost explosion that has led to the center of the crisis in American health care is far from certain.

For one thing, few American observers will try to keep the discussion narrowly expensive medical advances that underpin the increasingly expensive health care that U.S. health care

remains the best in the world. Examples of that superiority are not hard to find. Last week, as Salinas recovered from his wound at the nearby Methodist Medical Center, surgeons a few miles to the south at the profit-making Medical City Dallas hospital were performing a state-of-the-art operation to remove a tumor once the brain of a nine-year-old girl. Surgeon Jim Munro described the procedure: "We split the face in two, move the two out of the way, go into the middle at the base of the skull, take the tumor out, and put the face back together. And there's no mark on the outside." Added Munro: "It's something that was physically impossible five years ago. The child would have died." But such advances are far from cheap: the 14-hour operation cost as much as \$132,000.

Other influences driving up the cost of medical care for Americans have lower-cost benefits. Over the past eight years, a flood of lawsuits has increased the actual cost of malpractice insurance for many physicians to more than \$25,000 from about \$1,800. In an attempt to limit malpractice claims, meanwhile, doctors have greatly increased the number of diagnostic procedures they order—to the point that one study estimated that more than half of cancer health costs are "medically unnecessary." At the same time, sloppy accounting and overbilling tend to combine to inflate 10 per cent of hospital bills by an average of \$1,800, according to a study by the U.S. government's General Accounting Office.

Still more attributable to the epidemic of violence that daily delivers thousands of casualties like Salinas to hospitals is the United States. Although no study has calculated the total cost of repairing all the bullet-shattered bodies and traumatized psyches, Dr. George Lundberg, editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, estimates the price tag at "many billions of dollars a year, maybe \$28 billion, in health-care costs alone."

At Methodist Medical Center, Dallas emergency physician Dr. Robert Simonson explains these costs daily. Criminal gangs, when he surgically cuts the "kicks and punches endemic to the area," are responsible for as many as a dozen postoperative trauma (inhalation and shooting) cases a day. Moreover, Simonson adds daily, "our postoperative trauma population is largely

The administration's proposed reforms may save dry ponds: more care of that population with insurance. But managed competition alone will alter neither Americans' penchant towards violence nor their fascination with exotic medical technology. And whether managed competition will contain the cost explosion that has led to the center of the crisis in American health care is far from certain.

For one thing, few American observers will try to keep the discussion narrowly expensive medical advances that underpin the increasingly expensive health care that U.S. health care

CHIEF WICKED in Dallas with RICHARD MACKENZIE in Washington

World Notes

A STRIKE FOR PEACE

Distant side notes to the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament rejected a peace plan authored by American and 100 medics. Olena Vucelj and Lord Owen, whom they would put the president in a referendum. Instead, the doctors argued that the plan, which would divide the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semi-autonomous cantons, would require them to give up territory conquered during the almost six-year civil war. In response, the Clinton administration tried to enlist European support for military action, including possible air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions, or smaller arms-to-embolden Muslims.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

The United States touched over 100,000 of a multinational force in Somalia in the United Nations, five months after it stopped in to stop gunners from stealing food and aid for the starving. As an military authorities continued their mission, the deaths of two American soldiers with the Canadian Airborne Regiment in March, the departure of national defense said that it was investigating reports that the regiment has right-wing white supremacists among its ranks—including a peacekeeper in Somalia.

KILLING FIELDS

Cameroon's UN-sponsored elections scheduled in the field. May 23 and 28 were cut in doubt by continuing violence on peacekeepers, election officials and civilians by Khmer Rouge guerrillas. The Khmer Rouge, one of four Cambodian factions that signed a peace accord in 1991 to end 15 years of civil war, has vowed to disrupt the voting.

THE WORLD'S NEWEST STATE

Ethiopia, which fought a 20-year civil war with Eritrea, recognized its former Red Sea province as an independent and sovereign state. The recognition followed the near unanimous choice of Eritreans for secession in a UN-monitored referendum.

A LEADER FOR SRI LANKA

Sri Lankan Prime Minister Dingiri Banda Wijetunge succeeded Ranasinghe Premadasa, who was killed by a suicide bomber during a May Day rally, as president. Wijetunge said he wanted to hold peace talks soon with the rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the group suspected by police of Premadasa's killing.

RUSSIA

Drowning their sorrows

Troubled Russians are hitting the bottle

Kolch Alexandrovich and one more last month behind the barred doors of the Na 36 prison in south-west Moscow, with little idea of how he had landed in a locked sobering-up ward that spilled of sweat and unshed tears. Valentin Puchkov, director of the Na 36 drunk tank, quickly filled in the necessary blanks for him. Ruffling from an old jail report, Puchkov noted that police had picked up the 39-year-old unemployed laborer from a recent and erratic walkway near a rail way station in the center of the city. "That's it," noted Alexandrovich, after learning the details. "This is my first time in this place and I am going to get drinking." But, as a nearby police sergeant broke in to disabuse the hapless and Puchkov joyfully flaunted a police life of previous offences. Alexandrovich quickly changed his tune. He had, he confessed, spent many nights in other drunk states.

Alexandrovich might be excused for trying to forget. Life like thousands of other Russians beset by social and economic woes resorts to the bottle to try to blot out the daily misery. But Russians have never needed so much to submerge in vodka as they do now. That Grand Prince Vladimir I guided his pagan subjects towards Christianity instead of Islam at the end of the 10th century because he knew that Russians would never accept a religion that banned alcohol. As the prince put it, "If a Russian is to drink, we cannot do without it." Ten centuries later, many Russians

social customs still revolve around drinking—on a rather dozing in city parks—drinking of vodka. When former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev launched an aggressive campaign to cut alcohol abuse in 1985 by restricting the availability of vodka wine and beer, Russians quickly switched to anagrams (home brew). Alcohol production was halted, but government liquor revenues shrank by \$20 billion, by some estimates and Russians began desperately addressing Gorbachev's, whose drink of choice was sparkling water, as "a security menace." The anti-drinking crusade ended after only three years.

Now, vodka Russians unapologetic drink of tradition, in back. The sale of alcohol is no longer a state monopoly and half-price bottles

costing about 400 rubles (\$1 cent) are readily available at the privately run kiosks that line the sidewalks of Moscow and other Russian municipalities. According to Boris Nikolov, a professor who has studied the links between alcoholism and economic problems, residents of Moscow and other big cities drink 50 liters of pure spirits per

they were before Gorbachev started his campaign. In 1982 Russian police registered a record 2.7 million crimes—and alcohol was involved in one-third of them.

Police and specialists on alcoholism argue that Gorbachev's measures failed because they cut the supply of alcohol without offering improved treatment for the disease. Even though state-owned distilleries are now up-producing production levels of the early 1980s, the government has blamed scarce funds for failing to provide alcoholics with better medical care and counseling. The only cure, for now, appears to be simply to get the most vulnerable parts of the social classes off the streets. In Moscow alone, police transport up to 500 people daily to the city's 21 sobering-up stations.

At Station No. 26, Puchkov said that police bring in about 35 people an average, most



Moscow police make an arrest. "It is Russia's joy to drink, we cannot do without it"

costs each year. Complete statistics are not available, but Nikolov estimates that as many as 30 million people in the former Soviet Union, more than 10 percent of the population, are alcoholics.

The recent resurgence of alcohol abuse has had a debilitating social impact. Drunks are again omnipresent on Moscow streets and the problems associated with heavy drinking—crime, sickness and homelessness, among them—plague the country. Gorbachev's anti-drinking campaign had helped lower the crime rate, but that benefit has disappeared. Alcohol-related crimes have increased by 15 percent yearly since 1986, and Li-Gai Wang Genshiev, director of the government department that deals with the problem, says, "Things are worse now than

at those times and about half of those were played." One so-called despotismologist has brought in more statistics. "I and the 11-year-old former policeman. Under communism many people were afraid that they would lose their party cards if they were found drunk in public. But he has become harder now and more people are drinking, either to forget about things or a while or because they are afraid of what will happen tomorrow." And every working day, Puchkov said, he sees the grim evidence of Russia's long love affair with vodka. With that, he is locked in often captured, without a bottle, unaccepted it and in Russian hospitality customs, offered his visitor a drink.

MICHAEL GRAY in Moscow

PEOPLE

Rock politics

Dennis Dutton is changing music TV in Canada. As director of music programming for MuchMusic, Toronto-based Dutton, 38, says that fans expect more out of the station than rock 'n' roll. "The songs aren't just about boy-meets-girl any more," she added. "There are political environmental and social issues in music now."



Dutton finding strength in 'narcotics'

With that in mind, Dutton has introduced the "Video with a Message" campaign, a series of interviews where video jockeys guide Much Music's largely young-adult viewers through the political scene. Dutton's 11-year-old son interviewed Terry leadership candidate Kim Campbell on April 21 health Ethics. Then, gruff Liberal leader Jean Charest, said Dutton, "I think that part of our strength is our music on the topic."

A grown-up approach

Terry McMillan's *Waiting to Exhale*, a frank, funny story about four middle-class black women's search for mates, is a publishing phenomenon. It has sold more than 700,000 copies, is hard cover and earned its author \$3.8 mil-



Branagh 'not just for cognoscenti'

Black Ads, cast a number of North American actors, including Denzel Washington, Michael Keaton and Keanu Reeves, in "a deliberate attempt to make it look and sound as though it was available for everybody, not just for a small cognoscenti." Added Branagh: "I enjoy disarming the audience. I enjoy Shakespearean acting which is technically adept, so you hear every word, you understand everything. Still, you feel, 'Wow, now that Shakespeare?'"

Hot Kiss

Call it the Great White North Cross. Last week on *FiveThirty*, Brent Carter, 41, born in Cranston, R.I., drew raves for his starring role in Harold Prince's *Kim of the Spider Woman* (launched in Toronto last winter, the Canadian musical traveled to London's West End before opening in New York City on May 3). Meanwhile, Hamilton-born Martin Short, 41, has been playing to sold-out audiences in a musical version of Neil Simon's *The Graduate* ("They call me the town of the town," said Short, "which is not my quote").



Short 'the heart' of Broadway

lion for the rights to the recently released paperback. But California-based McMillan has drawn flak from some black critics who say that *Waiting to Exhale* did not adequately address racism and politics in America—and that it was too critical of black men. "I wish they would just grow up," said McMillan. "I wish they would read my work as fiction, which is what it is. It's not a commentary, it's a story." And she is unapologetic about her depiction of men. "I call it as I see it," she added. "There are a lot of women out there having trouble. So for men to say 'I'm picking on them, that's bullsh—, it really is.'"



McMillan: 'I call it as I see it'

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CANADA INC.

CANADIAN PACIFIC'S STRUGGLE TO REINVENT ITSELF MIRRORS THAT OF THE ENTIRE CANADIAN ECONOMY

Thousands of Canadians take William Shotton's job very personally. As chairman and chief executive officer of Montreal-based Canadian Pacific Ltd., Shotton, 59, is responsible for much more than Canada's fifth-largest company: he is also the custodian of some of the country's best known and most cherished corporate assets. In 1885, Canadian Pacific (CP) completed construction of the national railway that first transformed Canada into a united nation. Later, the company constructed a grand hotel in almost every major city served by rail. As a result of CP's place in Canadian history, Shotton says, he regularly receives letters from people connecting in everything from CP's share price to the color of a new carpet installed in one of its historic hotels. In fact, after restoration of the 73-year-old, 185-room Hotel Macdonald in Edmonton was completed in May, 1991, more than 30,000 people turned through it in just three weeks. Steel director manager Tony Gervin-Barnard ("They seemed to be a real sense of public ownership in the hotel. It was quite touching.") For his part, author and railway historian Pierre Berton said Macdonald that CP is "an integral part of the national consciousness."

The fascination with CP is not limited to Canadians. For years, foreign investors have used the company's assets as a proxy for Canada because its widely diversified holdings offer exposure to the key sectors of the economy. And the Canada's currency sold at its lowest, a strong reliance on foreign capital has made the company's stock especially prone to volatile swings, based on its investor perceptions. During the recession, CP's financial performance—and its share price—suffered a devastating slump. Between 1990 and 1992, the company posted a loss of \$1.4 billion and its long-term debt soared to \$7.6 billion by the end of last year. Still, as domestic iron-ore prospects have brightened recently, CP's market performance has reflected growing investor optimism. As well, as the first nine months of this year CP reported a profit of \$22 million, compared with a loss of \$40 million in the first quarter of 1992.

But just as the overseas investor is a recent economic downturn and the pressures of greater North American



CANADIAN PACIFIC ASSETS

Company	Units (M)	Employees (1992)	1992 operating assets (in millions)
TRANSPORTATION			
CP Rail	189	36,000	(\$63.3)
CP Trucks	100	4,300	(\$9.6)
CP Ships	100	400	18.3
NATURAL RESOURCES			
CP Forest Products	61	12,000	(\$49.5)
Pacific Petroleum	67	1,400	\$79.9
Forrest Coal	100	1,400	41.2
REAL ESTATE			
CP Hotels	100	14,100	\$2.0
Marathon Realty	100	1,300	103.2
OTHER			
Capital	48	2,700	3.5
Landlaw	47.2	35,300	23.4

trade have wrought fundamental changes to the Canadian economy over the past three years, CP has also been forced to undertake major production and restructuring. With the exception of its 40-per-cent stake in a telecommunications company, United Communications Inc. of Toronto, the company's assets are heavily weighted to the cyclical resource industries, which represent Canada's traditional "cash" economy. But they are the same segments that have suffered from depressed demand, increased global competition and capital-intensive technology. In order to reinvent CP as a more responsive, efficient operation, Shotton is trying to restructure CP and to replace its centralized, hierarchical management with a scaled-down lean approach.

New, Shotton is dividing his sprawling company into smaller, more autonomous units where employees have more direct responsibility—and rewards—for financial performance and productivity. CP is selling assets that managers already see as uncompetitive, including several of CP Forest Products' customer companies. And several CP operations have implemented so-called total quality management programs, which ensure that all employees are responsible for a product's quality at all points in its production. "It's more than just a word and a buzzword," Shotton said. "It's an essential part of survival in current markets."

Despite CP's strong Canadian corporate heritage, it is also being forced to contend with the relentless globalization of markets. At the same time as it is working to reduce its domestic, non-rail unit services, the company has purchased two U.S. railroads. These acquisitions have allowed CP to provide uninterrupted north-south service without interfering with another rail company as trade with the United States increases under the Free Trade Agreement. In the telecommunications sector, which is the modern equivalent of a national rail infrastructure, CP and Rogers Communications Inc. of Toronto, who owned United, have joined forces with the U.S. giant AT&T to increase the pace of its own product development and to make connections with U.S. long-distance services easier. In the energy business, Calgary-based PacifiCan Petroleum Ltd., which is 50 per cent owned by CP, introduced an international expansion program in 1992.

Yet another area where CP's corporate challenges reflect broader trends in the Canadian economy is deregulation. In transportation, natural gas and telecommunications, CP-owned companies have struggled to come to terms with more open competition. And although Shotton and that rail deregulation has been deeply flawed and long distance telephone deregulation should occur more gradually, he added that, at best, he readily endorses the principle. "Deregulation has been painful for many companies," he noted, "but it's also been very positive for the country in

Coal train in British Columbia; an exceptional legacy still defines CP

Business Notes

WIN SOME, LOSE SOME

Canada won the latest round in its long-running trade battle with the United States when a bipartisan House panel ruled that the U.S. consumer department has 90 days to recommend a tariff reduction. But let's be honest: last May of a 650-per-cent duty against Canadian softwood exports. Spokesmen for the Canadian forest industry, which requested \$4.4 billion in softwood to the United States in 1992, hailed the ruling as a victory, saying it will eventually lead to the elimination of the duty. Spokesmen for the U.S. industry said they would continue pursuing their case to Congress. However, Canadian steel company executives said that they were shocked by a decision by the Canadian International Trade Tribunal that American carbon steel imports have not harmed Canadian steel production. The tribunal also said that it would place anti-dumping tariffs on steel-plate exports from seven European countries.

FIGHTING A BIP

The Canadian Auto Workers and the United Auto Workers officially ended the feud that began in 1985 when the Canadians broke away from the huge U.S. union. Spokesmen for the two groups said that they would not set up a dialogue on reaching common goals in their collective bargaining with the Big Three automakers later this year.

A DEAL TAKES OFF

Transport Canada officials announced that they will start over the existing runway at Toronto's Pearson International Airport in the private sector as part of a plan to build three new runways for Canada's busiest airport. Under terms of the deal, a private developer will finance the estimated \$450-million construction of the runways and then recoup its investment by sharing in the landing fees collected from the airlines.

A COSTLY DECLINE

According to a Bank of Canada study, the competitive position of the Canadian manufacturing sector declined by more than 20 per cent compared with U.S. manufacturing between 1980 and 1990. The report added, however, that the Canadian manufacturers began to regain some of the lost ground in 1992. Still, some economists said that the need to boost productivity even further means that manufacturing employment will remain depressed even as output grows. As well, Statistics Canada reported that the national unemployment rate rose in April to 13.4 per cent, from 11 per cent in March.

terms of shaping up for global competition

Despite the elaborate restructuring plans launched at CP's head office, however, the chances of success remain limited because the strategy is so widely diversified. While corporate conglomerates were extremely popular with the investment community in the 1980s and 1990s, their lack of focus has cast them into extreme disfavor during the past few years. Now, large pension funds and institutional investors are saying that they prefer so-called pure plays—companies whose employees are extremely knowledgeable and competent in a specific area. If money managers want to diversify their holdings, they expect to do the work themselves by assembling stocks into investing a lot of each pure play.

Last week at CP's annual meeting, Stenson stated that the company is fully contemplating the sale of some of its holdings to focus more narrowly on lower industries. "We're responding to the fact that the company is compelled to analyze—an acknowledgment," he said. But even more importantly, according to Stenson, is the need to "put our assets behind the business where we have competitive advantages." He said that because of the large amount of capital required to maintain and expand Canadian companies to a size where they can compete in North America or the world, CP must now concentrate on a narrower range of businesses. And the resulting recession means that the demand—and prices—for corporate assets is gradually rebounding. "A recession can help a restructuring by forcing the acceptance of strategic decisions and improving productivity," said Stenson. "But it slows things down enormously when there is a need to sell assets."

Stenson acknowledges that CP's role in Canadian history, especially the rail and hotel domains, makes it especially difficult in capital space. In many cases, including Stenson's, generations of the same family have worked at CP. But, he said, the luxury of affordable "sacred cows" is not possible in the current economic environment.

The struggle to transform CP into a smaller, more competitive unit has also encountered considerable resistance from the labor movement. In 1989, the company negotiated a series of so-called employment security contracts with its rail employees. And the process of plant just about 10 years ago over the next several years has already cost the company \$404 million in severance-related payments in the past two years. Still, Stenson said that union leaders have accepted the urgency of the rail reorganization initiative and have become increasingly cooperative.

Although CP management has yet decided which assets it will sell or what five

timetable for those sales may be, it is clear that both energy and rail divisions are viewed as core holdings. For its part, First Canadian provides CP with strong growth from its increased production of oil and gas and with oil revenue from its recently increased dividend payments to shareholders, including CP. And although Stenson describes the rail division as CP's largest single business, as the company's chief challenge, there appears to be a long-term commitment to preserve it to global stability. Steel Products Ltd., an investment analyst with the investment firm of Baring Warburg Inc. in Toronto, "U.S. rail companies

for policies, both recommended in the National Transportation Act Review Commission report in March, will improve the rail division's profitability. Currently, Canadian rail companies pay much higher fuel and equipment taxes than their U.S. counterparts and, even more significantly, they are not allowed to abandon uneconomic portions of their rail lines without an elaborate federal review process.

Unlike the Canadian airline industry which shares similar problems, CP Rail and its principal competitor, CN Rail, seem to prefer cooperation to blood feud. Last year, the two companies agreed to combine their operations in the Ottawa Valley and they are now jointly conducting a study of their duplicate services with an eye to further rationalization. Although CP's privatization, which the commission recommended, could heighten competition between the two companies, Stenson insisted that he is in favor of it. "There is no room for Crown corporations at this new economy," he said.

But rail is not CP's only problem child. After spending more than \$1 billion to acquire and upgrade CP Forest Products over the past three years, the company posted another first-quarter loss—\$64.8 million in 1993. These results, due to the company's heavy exposure to depressed global pulp and paper markets, have led some industry analysts to suggest that it may not survive when CP renews its assets for sale. CP allowed its investment in CP Forest Products to drop to 61 per cent from 70 per cent through an equity raise in March. Still, says Wang Wei, a senior product analyst with Research Capital Ltd. in Vancouver: "They tried to fix it according to the textbook, but there are no results yet. It's a question of how much CP's money is at this point in the market."

An equity acquisition investment in a waste management company, Laidlaw Inc. in 1986, at the height of the bull stock market, CP paid \$199.3 million for a 42.5 per cent voting interest in the company. The rationale was that Laidlaw would provide CP with a solid, noncyclical addition to its stable of companies. Still, a slower industrial pace, combined with greater general emphasis on raising and recycling, dented Laidlaw's profitability during the recession. "The latest recession has proven that there really is no such thing as a recession-proof company," said Stenson. But it is already to follow through on such lessons from the recession and transform CP into a flexible, profitable participant in its chosen businesses, he will have to advance rapidly from muddling through to reorganizing an entire conglomerate.



Stenson: shedding assets to focus on core holdings

are the model for all rail businesses. And in the United States they have done very well with a combination of rail and energy assets."

In Canada, however, the prospects for a profitable railroad currently appear to be far in the distance. The toll of the recession has greatly eroded its base of manufacturing clients who have either gone bankrupt or moved south. In the resource sector, several coal mines, the largest domestic user of rail service, have recently suffered from product price slumps or bankruptcies. As well, Stenson noted that the knowledge-based high-tech industry businesses that define this new economy don't exactly need much rail service.

Still, Stenson expressed confidence that the modification of certain regulations and less

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It Just Feels Right



Homebrew coffee drinkers now look more thirsty

At this time last summer that Coca-Cola Co. of Atlanta, Ga., and PepsiCo Inc. based in Purchase, N.Y., along with their Canadian subsidiaries. As the world's two largest soft-drink companies, they dominate the market for non-alcoholic beverages. But every new beverage manufacturer tends to take a chunk of that market. Low-alcohol beers, for one, with less than one per cent alcohol, have made dramatic gains since they first appeared in grocery store shelves in 1989. Soft Ice O-lets, an industry analyst with Toronto-based Spicco Securities Ltd. "They share him to come out of somewhere—tea, coffee or, most likely, soft drinks."

Soft, it has been primitive or some brands of soft drinks, including the highly successful President's Choice soft drinks at Loblaw Companies Ltd., that have cut more deeply into the industry leaders' shares. Beverage industry analysts estimate that retailers now handle soft drinks, which they formerly sold for up to 50 cents a case, than sugar brands, now account for 30 per cent of the Canadian market, up from five per cent just three years ago. In the United States, private-label soft drinks account for one per cent of the \$60-billion consumer beverage market. That has been particularly good news for Cal Beverages Ltd., a company based in Mississauga, Ont., that, among other brands, makes President's Choice as well as soft drinks for 40 major U.S. retailers. As a result, Cal, which had \$200 million in sales last year, has become North America's leading maker of private-label drinks.

Partly as a result of the increased competition, the Canadian market for Coca-Cola Beverages Ltd., still 94% national in 1992, its first five lines going public last year ago. The changing landscape of Cal's market, once-dominant brands has prompted some analysts to declare that the power of brand names is declining. But John Halliday, a marketing professor with the school of business administration at the University of Western Ontario in London, and that private-label brands have, in effect, become brand names. Cal Halliday: "A company like Loblaw has spent a lot of money and time building up its President's Choice brand name."

Pepsi is no certain of the value of its name that it recently added two new products to its roster. In December, the company launched a lightening-fast cold drink, Crystal Pepsi. In Western Canada last, in January, in the rest of

Canada and the United States. It also introduced Crystal Pepsi Diet, bringing to six the number of soft drinks carrying the Pepsi name. By using the word Pepsi in the name analysts say that the company may have convinced some customers who expected the less sweet pop to taste like the regular soft drink. Sugar-laden brands, group marketing director of Toronto-based Coca-Cola Canada Ltd., as well as the fact that some customers may have been disappointed that the advantages of using the Pepsi name for soft-drinked the disadvantages. "Like restaurants give you high profile and a strong credibility."

In launching Crystal Pepsi, the company also gained a growing list of manufacturers trying to differentiate their products through color, or lack of it. Halliday said that the clear color is a signal that the new drink is different. He added: "It's not supposed to taste like Pepsi, it is a new soft drink. We're looking for it to take over a new niche." Meanwhile, Coca-Cola has launched Tab Clear, a clear version of its diet cola drink, in the United States and the United Kingdom, and in test-marketing. Norfolk, Mass., its first entrant into the New Age category, at the United States, according to Dave Sanderson, vice-president of marketing for Coca-Cola's Canadian subsidiary, Toronto-

based Coca-Cola Ltd., there is still room to expand the market for soft drinks in Canada. "Canadian soft drink drinkers are many soft drinks as Americans do, even those in the northern states where the climate is comparable," he said. As a result, the company plans to make Coca-Cola in a greater variety of locations, including gas stations, schools and

is trying to move tea drinking out of the home, where 80 per cent of all tea is consumed, by making their products more convenient. Said AG Robertson, president of Lyons Teas Canada Ltd.: "The fact is, many people just don't take the time to brew a pot of tea." As a result, the company introduced Tidy Power Drink Instant Tea in Canada last month.

While earlier attempts at instant tea proved disappointing, Robertson said that new technology has resulted in the company and some of its competitors producing a tea product. Tea companies are also trying to increase Canadian consumption of cold tea. Lyons and Newt's have signed joint-venture agreements with PepsiCo and Coca-Cola, respectively, to distribute canned iced tea to stores and vending machines across the country.

At the same time, Second Cup's McEwen said when specialty coffee retailers are trying to halt the decline in overall coffee consumption and convince Canadians to try their premium-priced brews. "If you are people good-quality coffee, they are not going to be satisfied. If you give them the regular stuff, they prefer pop." And in today's competitive beverage industry, quenching thirst is just one desire that must be satisfied.

BARBARA WICKENS

BUSINESS

The quest for new thirst quenchers

Clear and low-cal are cool for summer

The search for the perfect coffee bean keeps Alton McEwen travelling around the world for nearly four months a year. McEwen, president of Second Cup Ltd., one of Canada's largest specialty coffee retailers, went to Costa Rica last year to find a new source of coffee beans. The new line was marketed as a rare bean called Yata Alegre, from an estate in southern Brazil of the same name. If it proves popular, McEwen said, it will soon be available at all 177 Second Cup outlets across Canada. McEwen, a former food company executive, says that he never expected to have to go to such lengths when he bought Second Cup five years ago. But he added that it is now necessary to stay ahead in the intensely competitive \$4-billion Canadian beverage market.

Lured by the chance to earn even a small share of that huge market, manufacturers

now offer consumers not only rare and exotic coffees and teas, but a bewildering array of clear colas, pre-sweetened soft drinks, bottled mineral waters from around the world, low-alcohol beers and so-called New Age juice-based drinks. The beverage industry has also become increasingly segmented—several analysts would even say fragmented—as it tries to cater to groups with consumers' conflicting demands that their drinks be healthy, convenient, affordable and provide a little thrill in their lives. "People are questing for change," said Tom Pirko, president of Bennett's Inc., a Los Angeles-based beverage industry consulting firm. He added, "And that's true, whether it's a new private minister, a new president or a new soft drink." As a result, Pirko said, the competition this summer, ironically the hottest season for the beverage industry, will be particularly aggressive. "It all comes to the table this year," he said. "This selling season is the most important in the past generation."

Few beverage companies will have more

A CLEAR ATTEMPT TO BOOST SALES

In the 1970s, many of the fastest-selling products in the marketplace were "clear" brands. "The, with the growing interest in health, about 10 years ago, in the 1980s, consumer products manufacturers jumped onto the "clear" bandwagon with everything from calorie-reduced light beer to light beverages. Now, if a recent trend continues, the 1990s will be the "psychic" decade. In the past 10 months, a growing list of North American manufacturers have introduced transparent and colorless versions of dozens of their products. Shoppers can now buy everything from clear beer to clear dishwashing soap to clear deodorant. This year, around, marketing analysts say, manufacturers are trying to cash in on a consumer desire for a clear consum-

ment. "Clear has an important psychological aspect," said John Halliday, a marketing professor with the school of business administration at the University of Western Ontario in London. "Being clear could mean you have a product that is pure or simple."

Many industry analysts credit Vancouver-based Clearly Canada Beverage Corp., which bottles clear-flavored sparkling water, with helping to kick off the clear craze in 1991. Other clear beverages, and then clear toiletries and household cleaners, soon followed. A survey of 110,000 new applications at the U.S. Patent and Trademark office last year showed that applications using the word "clear" had increased by 77 per cent compared with 1981, while the word "transparent" rose by 12 per cent. At the same time, the use of "light" or "diet" was up by 11 per cent. 1993, some market experts say that clear products are simply the strongest in cash in the environmental movement. "Clear doesn't always mean better," said Gerald Collette, founder and director of the Trends

Research Institute in Rhinebeck, N.Y. "Unless they offer a specific benefit by being clear, many of these products will be a quick and painful death."

For their part, manufacturers say that they did not intentionally set out to develop a clear product for its own sake. Instead, being clear is supposed to indicate that the product has new and different qualities. Bobbie Thurnell, a spokeswoman for Montreal-based Clear Canada Ltd., said that consumer research showed that consumers did not like the white residue from deodorants and soaps that got on their clothes. As a result, she said, the company developed Clear Canada deodorant. Thurnell, who has been in Canada last fall. This summer, she added, Clear will introduce a clear deodorant. Consumers will have to decide whether the growing range of clear products offers any genuine benefits. Clearly.

EL W.



Source: The Council of Canada, Coffee Association of Canada, Soft Drink Association, Market Research Bureau



Exploration crew in the Andes: political and financial turmoil has subsided

Red-hot Chile

Canadian mining companies are rushing south

Under normal circumstances, a Canadian executive on a business trip thousands of miles from home ought to be expected to jump at the chance to watch a satellite telecast of a Stanley Cup playoff hockey game. But on April 28, at a packed evening reception in a hotel in Buenos Aires, few members of the more than 50 business leaders accompanying International Trade Minister Michael Wilson on a working visit to Chile and Argentina ducked up to their rooms to watch even a few minutes of hockey on the hotel's cable television system. They were too busy hatching deals: about 250 local executives and government officials in an attempt to cash in on a gold—and copper, silver and natural gas—rush to rich and plentiful undeveloped deposits in the two Latin American countries. "There are a lot of possibilities," said Robin Lawrie, a mining consultant spokesman for Calgary-based Cavellier Text Services Inc. "But you have to get down here and meet people."

So far, Canadians are leading the rush of foreign investors to what diplomats call the Southern Cone. During the past few years, Canadian mining companies have invested close to \$2 billion in Chile, making Canada the largest foreign investor in the country. With world metals and minerals prices still

lagging near their recession lows, producers are seeking both opportunities at their predominantly old, high-cost mines in Canada and looking offshore. And now that the political and financial turmoil that plagued Chile and Argentina during the 1970s and 1980s appears to have subsided, the large untapped deposits in these countries look particularly attractive. As well, Chile is lobbying hard to become the first South American country to join the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Almost 30 major Canadian mining companies already have projects under way in Chile. The largest investors include Rio Algom Ltd., which plans to begin producing copper in December at its \$200-million Cerro Colorado Mine, 300 km north of the capital of Santiago. Noranda Inc. is also active in the huge \$550-million El Indio gold mine, Talcuquén. In turn, once a considered stake in the \$1-billion Collahuasi copper mine, the largest undeveloped copper project in the world.

One of the main attractions of Collahuasi and other deposits in the Andes is their sheer size. According to George Milner, president of the Ottawa-based Mining Association of Canada, the cost per ton of finding accessible ore in Chile is as little as one per cent of the cost in Canada. As for

production costs, at average mine wages, benefits and health-care costs total about \$25,000 a year in Chile, roughly one-third of what they are in Canada. But the lack of access to high-skilled means that both employees and machinery work more slowly.

Whatever the cost differential, political and economic reforms in both Chile and Argentina have made both countries more attractive places to invest. Chile's military dictator from 1973 to 1990, Gen. Augusto Pinochet, began moving towards a free-market economy near the end of his repressive reign. But the country still suffered through periodic bouts of double-digit inflation. Under democratically elected president Patricio Aylwin, the inflation rate declined to 12 per cent last year from 27 per cent in 1990 and the economy is now expanding by about 10 per cent per year. As well, underscored by reports from Washington about the waning prospects of the North American Free Trade Agreement, Chilean officials lobbied Wilson vigorously for inclusion in the pact.

The economic climate is also improving in Argentina. Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo has won praise from business leaders for free-market reforms and for steadying the inflation rate over the past 18 months. The oil-rich Argentina has abundant natural gas and mineral resources, it has lagged behind Chile in developing them. In addition, both the central government and many of Argentina's provincial governments have been corrupt and unrepresentative in the past.

But Argentina is clearly determined to lure more investment. Said Angel Mato, a government mining official, "Successful mining operations do not end at the Chiriqui border." Next month, the government will announce the winner of an auction of several gold mining properties in northwestern Argentina, located just across the border from the IAC Minerals' rich El Indio mine. IAC is one of two finalists bidding for the property—both of them Canadian. The other is a consortium that includes a small Vancouver-based company, Mantec Explorations Ltd. Mantec owns a similar bid, awarded on a smaller nearby copper and gold property two years ago and is contemplating investing \$450 million to develop it. "Our project has been viewed by many as a test case in Argentina," said Mantec's chief of operations in Buenos Aires, Jorge Pinheiro Jansen. El Mantec and other projects lost out, while Canadian companies are poised to rush to bid for them.

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TO AIR PORTUGAL

Portugal



The fire the next time: deflation

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

So much has happened to change the way we view Canada's economic and market economy that to worry about inflation seems like some vaguely nostalgic cliché. Instead, we may soon be concerned with inflation's dark side, a seldom experienced phenomenon known as deflation.

Ever since he became governor of the Bank of Canada in 1987, John Crow has been warning to his close-knit circle, determined to keep inflation down to zero—no matter what the consequences. The price has been billions of dollars worth of lost growth and hundreds of thousands of vanished jobs. According to a finance department estimate, Crow's knotty knuckles has cost Canada at least 80 per cent of estimated \$70 billion a year in economic output.

Ironically, Crow's well-heeled minority may soon result in an unexpectedly severe round of deflation. It's technically defined as a state of lower prices and declining money supply, but the most recent experience with deflation was the Great Depression of the 1930s. Other times of deflation, such as the 1920-1921 period, did not produce a depression and at the moment there are few indications a full-scale depression is a prospect.

A Vancouver investment dealer named RPH Majestic who specializes in deflation studies indicates that while the odds for a global deflation are only 30 per cent, the probability of Canada slipping into a state of deflation, or at least depression, is at least 80 per cent. Educated at Winchester College and Oxford, Majestic came to Canada in 1964, working first as an accountant with Price Waterhouse and later as a stock analyst with Norland Investors. He now runs a moderately money management firm with 1,000 clients and \$150 million on the books.

"I believe the chance of a deflation of the Canadian dollar through a government default is 30 to 40 per cent occurring over the next three or four years is very high," he told me during a recent interview. "As a result

Massive devaluation of the dollar 'could happen overnight,' says one investment dealer who has devised his own Deflation Monitor

of fact, this devastating phenomenon could happen overnight, before investors have a chance to react. While deflation, if it takes place will be global, Canada financial assets will be the first to be impacted by the deflationary side. If, as and when foreign investors lose confidence in our government's debt, short-term interest rate levels will head almost overnight into the 25-to-30 per cent range. Canada's substantial budget deficits and burgeoning debt levels represent an accident waiting to happen."

Among the seven major industrialized countries, only Italy is mending under the strain of greater public debt burdens. But Majestic emphasizes the fragility of the Canadian situation by pointing out that, while only five per cent of Italian government debt is held abroad, 77 per cent of Canada's outstanding government debt is owed to foreigners who have no comparative advantage switching their investments to safer havens. We're not considered to be politically stable sanctuary we once were, and with a federal election coming up this year and a Quebec campaign next year, all bets are off. The real danger is out so much that foreign investors will sell all the

Canadian debentures in their portfolios, but that they'll stop buying new ones.

"If the debt begins to go astray," Majestic warns, "and we'll have to raise 500 billion this year just to keep even, the International Monetary Fund will move in and tell us what we can no longer afford to do. That will certainly mean major cutbacks in government spending. The more we postpone getting our debt ratios under control, the worse it'll be. But I remain convinced there isn't the political will to do very much until we have such a crisis. So in that sense at least, the sooner it happens the less damage there will be."

A unique Deflation Monitor that Majestic has devised tracks 17 economic indicators such as US and Canadian debt to gross domestic product ratios as well as money supply growth rates and stock market indices. The monitor currently stands at 47 on a scale of 100, which Majestic notes is serious but not immediately threatening. As depicted on the cover of Canada's *Financial Post*, Majestic recognizes few economic havens anywhere else. He expects Germany's budget deficit will hit \$120 billion by 1995, with France at \$65 billion this year and Britain at \$102 billion.

Even Switzerland, the most conservative of fiscal sanctuaries, has had problems, with a bank in Basel failing because of near real estate loans. Japan's economy is still deteriorating, its \$108-billion fiscal stimulus package having failed to trigger the expected credit expansion. According to the Japanese Ministry of Finance, 51 of the country's leading banks hold \$127 billion in nonperforming loans, though some economists claim the losses are closer to \$620 billion.

There is an alternative to all these doomsday scenarios. It's called deflation and it's the opposite but tricky to administer. Under ideal conditions, debt levels are gradually reduced and the system is held in balance during the process. The trouble is that the debt cycle seems to have taken on a life of its own, and the sophisticated engineering required for orderly deflation may no longer be possible.

"The central banks have proved themselves to be fighting deflation since the late 1930s," Majestic charges, "which is why deflation will probably catch them by surprise. The critical thing is to keep the overall growth rate in the economy. As the monetary federal and provincial debts are still expanding at about eight per cent a year, while the economy is edging up only four to five per cent."

"What we really need to do, according to Majestic, is cut government expenditures enough so that interest on our public sector debts is reduced to manageable proportions. For fiscal year 1992-1993, 32 cents of every federal dollar collected went to pay interest on the federal debt. In Majestic's view, it's surely the point of no return is 40 cents. "After that," he predicts, "there will be no tomorrow. We'll have to restructure."

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FLOWER POWER

Gardening—high-tech and traditional—is enjoying a boom across the country

It's a sunny May weekend morning in the Ottawa suburb of Nepean. Pushing shopping carts, droves of hungry-eyed kids, women and children crowd the 12 indoor aisles and outdoor walkways of the community's White Rose nursery. Stripped from winter's long imprisonment, they now are, regardless of what they do for a living, primarily gardeners. Pleading and excitement, they move through a huge assortment of shrubs, shrubs, hives, ornaments, bagged earth, moss, gravel, sand and bark, filling their carts as they go. Winter has turned the corner into spring and their mission—shared with millions of others across Canada—is to dig, plant, water and fertilize. Karra Garlick, a 30-year-old professional dancer who manages the Nepean

White Rose store, looks on approvingly and says, "Now at the time, no question about it." Clamoring customers line up to ask her for advice on soil, air, sunlight and much. "The old traditional cross-your-fingers working," adds Garlick, "is now just a couple of weeks away."

In the old (standard Canada) that crucial window of the long Victoria Day weekend in May when the danger of frost has largely disappeared. Green-thumbed Canadians, gloved and armed, are about to launch the annual crusade to create gardens that will make last year's lackluster by comparison.

There are, however, isolated outliers of discontent. Some gardeners say the over-inflated marketing of their pastime and its membership payoffs in play to bring a part in Canada's pre-war summer-time passion. But for most, the prizes are both simple and obvious: enjoyment and a sense of achievement. The appeal is clearly broad. "More than 80 per cent of Canadian gardeners in any way or another," says Mark Cohen, 37-year-old president of the semi-nomadic Ontario-based team of Weal and Cullen.

That popularity has shown up in several ways. For instance, sales of the publicly traded White Rose nursery have more than doubled—from \$61 million in 1988 to \$124 million last year. Total revenues of the gardening and landscaping industry are estimated at \$4.3 billion nationwide—have doubled in the last decade. The circulation of Canadian Gardening, a magazine that began publication only three years ago, has

grown from 80,000 to 125,000. In fact, gardeners are besieged by an unprecedented flood of information from magazines, books and TV and radio gardening shows featuring prodwits ahead of five years ago.

While the market has diversified, so has the audience. Judy Shadden, president of the Ottawa Horticultural Society, says that its membership of 600 ranges in age from 12 to 90. "We have Italians, Indonesians and Chinese—people from all over the world," she says. In Ontario alone, there are 251 local societies with about 20,000 members. There are similar associations in other provinces, and also subgroups whose members speak in growing roses, create African veldts or fashion gardeners flock to special lectures on once-neglected alternatives to flowering in the backyard such as indoor, container or balcony gardening.

At the same time, legions of seniors in their 30s and 40s are discovering the nation that gardening's reputations were fully understood only by older people or those who had nothing else to do. Recession-hit baby boomers are forgoing expensive vacations and instead spending their diminished funds on beautifying their properties. "They want to enhance the quality of their life without having to buy a trip to Hawaii," says Cohen. Canadian Gardening editor Liz Francis thinks that "people in their 30s and 40s are discovering gardening as if it was something that was never there before." Says Beverly Simpson, general manager of Vasey's Seeds in York, P.E.I. "We're now running into a younger clientele and they want different things." Lynne Blandford, proprietor of Lynne's Little Elf Garden Centre near Victoria on Vancouver Island, is getting a lot of male customers in their 30s. "It's not as

Shopping for plants at nurseries in Toronto now, electronics can control the base

expensive as some other things," says Blandford. "You can do a lot of gardening for \$100."

Beyond its modest entry-level price tag, gardening's appeal has a lot to do with the unending passion for conservation. Says Ed Toop, a St. Albert, Alta., horticulturist. "People may feel a little closer to the earth these days." And more reluctant to doze it with chemicals, nurseries report a greater interest in natural processes such as composting.

Despite the enthusiasm for exotic plants, there is a growing for tradition. The Victoria-era English country garden look is enjoying a comeback. And perennials, which flower year after year and were part of most Canadian gardens years ago, have once again become big sellers. Recall St. Albert's Toop. "When I came to Edmonton in the 1950s, you really had to be scrappy to find anyone who sold perennials." And Canadians are also rediscovering wildflowers and other native plants. Says Blandford. "This year we're getting a lot of interest in plants native to British Columbia—gravel, dogwood, ferns and low bush cranberry."

No matter what their preferences, gardeners are also becoming a more serious bunch. For one thing, they tend to plan their gardens more formally. Says 35-year-old David Moss, who gardens with 20-year-old spouse Wade in Woodlawn, near Ottawa. "Not so long ago we were at the stage at Ed's just throw it in and see what happens." Now, they start planning in December the year before. "I'd read Nepean couple Edie and Ron Demphrean drew up plans this year in plant perennials instead of the vegetable garden that had been plagued by invading woodchucks. "What's nice about this planning," reflected Ron Demphrean, 55, "is that it gives you time to look toward the good weather that lies ahead."

But there may be signs of friction—if not trouble—in gardens



Nicole, David Moss, the best time to plan next year's garden is sometime in December

top's demerol: there's an undeniable competitive edge to gardening that offends none. Others believe Canada's summer adventure has swung too far in the direction of trends, speculation and novelty. Halifax chronicler McCordie, who gardens both in Halifax and near Chester, N.S., objects to lads in gardening. He recently wrote *Canadian Gardening* in complaint of "unspiced and treacly" scenes. In an interview, McCordie said, "It's all a bit too much like a fashion show."

There are similar quibbles among parties about the dizzying array of new tools and gadgets. They range from computerized watering systems, new kinds of fertilizers and herbicides to stand-up tools that take the ache out of gardening as well as special steel rings that don't require planting in the three-trud fashion. Says Toronto gardening writer H. Fred Dale, who calls himself a "down-on-your-knees-type gardener," "These things you pay down at each end, and then water, work out to about the same cost as the produce you would buy at the store. You can say you've grown your own vegetables but in my opinion they're for novices."

Many more plants of alien origin have crept into the gardener's repertoire. Chimeric plants, Chinese fly-catching stems, weeping cacti, low fruit, the New Guinea winged bean, yellow herbs and white eggplant are available from Canadian seed houses and nurseries. "What the value of a yellow herb is I don't know," Dale says, "but gardeners are always attempting to create novelties and some of them are quite useful." One he cites is the New Guinea Impatiens, a strain of Impatiens that thrives in shade.

Yet some say traditional gardening is lagging behind advanced technologies such as hydroponics—growing plants and produce without soil. Says William Sutherland, 36-year-old proprietor of B & B Hydroponic Gardens in Ottawa: "As far as I'm concerned, gardening outside in soil is a complete waste of time." Sutherland has grown brown trees and tobacco indoors and claims that hydroponics—employing root systems by nutrient bottles in a solution—has other advantages. Some local physicians, he said, have told patients to eat hydroponically-grown produce to avoid the contamination sometimes found in conventionally-grown fruits and vegetables. Says Sutherland: "It's definitely the wave of the future."

But other gardeners insist that technology, fashion and innovation are only incidental to their passion. Gardener Jack Lawlor of Medicine Hat, Alta., is a 66-year-old retired teacher and one of thousands of Canadians who regularly watch TV shows about gardening for fresh air. "I try to be a jump-up-with-joyance" says Lawlor. "Perhaps so. You go to somebody's house and they gar-

Gizmo gardening

For years, says Robert Winter, gardening department manager at Yellowknife Hardware, in Yellowknife, N.W.T., his customers bought rakes and hoes, seeds and soil and went home and made their gardens grow. But Winter says that television has changed gardening habits. "They see those earth crumblers and all these other tools on TV and they're put to have them," he said. "The other day a customer came in and it said she wanted a special compost-baker—a little gadget with a triangular piece of metal on the bottom. I said something she would probably do but I ordered it anyway. Then, days later, she came back and said, 'You were right. I could have done it with something I already had.'"

Says Winter: "It seems that people these days have to have the right tool, whether they need it or not." But both gardeners and marketers can be forgiven for looking at the weight of a bewildering supply of new tools, gadgets and gizmos marketed on TV and in catalogues. The choice is staggering: hot gizmo lawnmower, jelled water that keeps plants wet for weeks, special tools for cacti or orchids, newly-invented garden filling tools and even a high-tech willow-branch "comber" that the producer simply won't.

Some of the hardware is not only highly refined but pricey, too. In one upmarket Ottawa store, Lee Valley Tools, a national chain, the array of packaged tools and gadgets is dazzling: \$80 stainless steel digging spade; shovel spade with matching pitchfork; a \$95 laser-tipped watering can, and a \$109 device that electronically controls the water flow from a hose. And when the time comes to get these tools to use, a \$30 pair of soil leather gardening gloves is the perfect accessory.

But according to Mark Gallo, president of an Ontario chain of nurseries, "There's a lot more stuff, but there's also a lot more useful stuff than there used to be, too." Even the stainless steel spade has its defender as well. Alan Peters, director of Hamilton's Royal Botanical Gardens, acknowledges that while they're expensive, "they're easier to clean and if you have one you have it for life."

And many gardeners welcome the newest technology. Says Linda Covey, 44, a backyard gardener in Jack Lawlor's "I just bought a tool called a finger bar, really just a little bent finger sized prong. Well, you can plant with it, fluff up the soil and weed with it, too. And the best is I've been looking for something just like this all these years." When it comes to gizmos, one gardener's gimmick is another's necessity.

G. A.

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McCrindle on his rooftop garden: "It's not a bit too much for a urban show"

den is better than yours and you think, 'What the heck did I do wrong?' That one to keep up with the neighbors, suggests Alice Pearson, director of the 2,700-acre Royal Botanical Gardens in Hamilton, may stem from the fact that "people are beginning to see their gardens as an extension of their homes."

But whatever the differences between gardeners, there is one constant—the annual search for improvements in last year's design, whether in color, arrangement or species. Everybody does it. In Yellowknife, 71-year-old Stan Blayton, who anders his own earth to a soil-poor area by mixing mulch with shredded greenery and sand, is adding watermelon and cantaloupe to his cauliflower, broccoli, carrots, peas, beans, dill and fennel. Says Blayton: "If you look after it well, almost anything will grow here. It's a short season but the autumn days are long." In Medicine Hat, Lawlor is adding a wild cucumber vine to his small city plot.

New that the crocus has come and gone and the tulips are in full bloom, a lot of people enjoying the outside beds in the backyard take time to reflect on why they garden at all. Says Sheila Cope, deputy leader of the federal Liberal party: "It's just nice to get out there and see the fruits of your labor in a very direct way." In the offseason she owns enjoys reading about gardening. "I sit there and think about the things I never have time to do," says David Moss. "What could be better than working with Mother Nature and the earth and loving things?" Edith Schmitt, a manager at a landscape design firm in Ottawa, runs gardening as a source of joy. "There's something magical about going out in the garden first thing in the morning and seeing what has come up overnight," she said.

Judy Shekelle remembers the pleasures of gardening in the four provinces where she has made her home—her native Newfoundland, Alberta, Nova Scotia and now Ontario. "Every one has been different," says Shekelle. "But I'm a Newfie at heart and I guess I'm prejudiced. We had beautiful rhododendrons, and lilacs and heather grew well." In any case, says Shekelle, now 54, "It has been a wonderful hobby. The motto of our society is that gardening adds life to your years and years to your life." That's a prescription that Canadian gardeners—out in greater force with every passing spring—are clearly now taking to heart.

GLENN ARSEN in Ottawa

Worldly tastes

Horticultural horizons are now as wide as the world itself in a nation that used to rely on old gardening staples like peas and carrots, petunias and pansies. Take the strawberry guava, a small shrub with sweet edible fruit. Or the Chinese Jello Vine, a dark green, thick-leaved vine that grows year-round indoors. Its fruit can be used to make either a drink that tastes like lemonade or something resembling a gelatin dessert. Then there's the Dwarf Egg Tree, a novel pot plant that bears edible, walnut-shaped fruit two inches long. Those and dozens of other exotic species from Africa, Asia and Latin America are available from a seed house that home-maker Sally Sharratt runs from her home in Kewaskia. One of her business began just two years ago "and while we started off very slowly, now we're grossing about \$1,000 a month."

The rarer species offered by Sharratt—all adaptable to year-round growth in Canadian homes—may be in gardening's outer edges, a kind of horticultural boudoir zone. But even the plants, flowers, fruits and vegetables offered by traditional Canadian growers are becoming more varied with each passing season. Canadian seed houses now offer the Russian man-berry, Manchurian plum, and such indoor ornamentals as the white butterfly plant, which has the special ability to clean indoor air. There are also blue roses, yellow raspberries, varieties of strawberries in bag-in-bag caps and special gardeners can seed mixes ("Just shake and scatter") designed to attract hummingbirds or butterflies. Or, in the case of the Moonlight Garden ("a nighttime display of hauntingly lovely bloom"), flowers that look their best when the sun goes down.

To some, the success of this wealth of new species is a testament to the daring and cosmopolitanism of Canadian gardeners. Says Edith Schmitt, general manager of an Ottawa landscape design firm: "People try new things now—they're both more adventurous and more knowledgeable." But in Toronto gardening writer H. Fred Dale points out: "If new species are introduced every year, old ones pass away, too. For instance, I used to grow a lovely highly perfumed rose called Crimson Glory that I don't think is available anymore."

One of the most popular items is any girl dear? The tomato. "You'll still find them in almost every order that comes in," says Beverly Simpson, general manager of Vasey's Seeds in York. P.E.I. But there are many more varieties of tomato than there used to be. Donatana Seed House of Georgetown, Ont., this year offers its customers 35 varieties, including one called Hunter Gold, new for 1984, a globe-shaped fruit, golden-orange in color, that is "resistant to hot, dry weather." In uncertain times, an old friend like the tomato still represents order, familiarity and performance in an expanding range of choice.

G. A.



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Gardens in season, the lowly tomato now sends will produce blue roses, yellow raspberries

Family ties

Tracing the genetic link to a deadly cancer

In 1990, doctors sent two patients from northeastern Newfoundland who had suffered from colon cancer to see June Green, a medical geneticist at Memorial University in St. John's. Both patients knew that cancer was prevalent in their family back grounds and, recalled Green, "were especially concerned" that their children might develop it. After studying medical records, Green realized that the two patients were members of the same extended family in which an inherited disorder appeared to cause colon cancer. She also asked Green said that the family could be a valuable medical resource because researchers could study the history of a large number of family members who remained in the same remote region through successive generations. Green's belief was vindicated last week when researchers in the United States and Finland reported a dramatic discovery after studies involving the Newfoundland family and others in New Zealand,

they had come close to identifying a gene that causes some cases of colon cancer and other forms of cancer. Experts said that the finding would eventually open the way for new screening techniques to identify potential victims and allow early treatment of colon cancer. The gene is known as the APC gene and is not the only cause of colon cancer. Doctors involved in the study said that the gene they found was probably present in 14 per cent of all cases of colon cancer, while other genes, diet and aging play a role in the remaining cases. In 1990, the most recent year for which figures are available, 4,631 Canadians died of colon cancer.



Green: dramatic discovery

rapag, but the collection of blood samples from 35 members of the extended family. Green passed along the blood samples, with coded information on the family's history, to Vogelstein's team. Researchers in Baltimore and Helsinki then extracted genetic material from the blood samples. Using molecular genetics techniques, researchers hunted for tell tale "markers"—unique portions of genetic material that act as signposts. Their goal: to find a marker that was shared by all the family members with cancer.

Vogelstein told Mendel's that at one point, after team members had unsuccessfully searched for about 260 markers, "we were getting frustrated and were even thinking of giving up. But," he added, "A member of the Newfoundland family contracted colon cancer. He was a 27-year-old man and seemed to have colon cancer in someone that young convinced us that we were on the right track. So we tried another 180 or so markers—and we hit pay dirt." Vogelstein said that the defective gene is on chromosome number 5, one of the 23 pairs of chromosomes that contain the approximately 100,000 genes found in every human cell.

The next step, Vogelstein said, will be to identify the gene and the defect in it that causes cancer. Once that has been done, tests will be able to detect which people carry the defective gene. They can then be screened for the presence of cancer in its early stages. When colon cancers are caught soon enough, added Vogelstein, they can be surgically removed with a high rate of success—a prospect that could significantly diminish the ravages of a deadly disease.

MARK NICHOLS

Members of the research team led by Dr. Bert Vogelstein of Johns Hopkins University Oncology Center in Baltimore, Md., and Dr. Albert de la Chapelle of the University of Helsinki, revealed another, unexpected, finding, in articles published in the May 7 issue of *Science*, a Washington-based weekly, the researchers also reported that the gene under study may function differently from other known cancer-causing genes. Usually, defective genes trigger cancer by causing cells to begin proliferating wildly. But Vogelstein said that the new gene may cause cancer by assisting other genes in the process.

A chance conversation at a New England summer school led to the Newfoundland family's crucial role in the study. Green said that in 1991, when she attended a course on medical genetics at Bar Harbor, Me., a colleague of Vogelstein's "mentioned the difficulties they were having finding families with a history of colon cancer to study. I said that I knew of a couple of families." Green, 48, said that she spent the next six months in the search for the right family.

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TELEVISION

A spacey odyssey

Oliver Stone makes a futuristic melodrama

WILD PALMS
(CIBC/NBC, May 26, 17, 18)

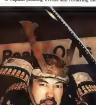
The threescore takes up frequent ly—in the hero's kitchen or in his dream swimming pool. And with talking holograms, a computer virus that devours people and a chilling religious vision of a hallelujahscape drag with elements of Zoroastrian and American-style holocaust. Wild Palms takes the prize for the most provocative television offering this spring. The six-hour series starts the first long of movie director Oliver Stone (JFK, Platoon) into TV land. In fact, it is more of a full-on assault on the television—and persuasion—powers of the medium.

Set in Los Angeles in 2007, the show focuses on the sinister designs of a dystopian tech mogul called Kenneth Keweter. Keweter (Robert Loggia) is launching a revolutionary technology that converts television transmissions into three-dimensional hologram sitcom characters torn up right in viewers' living rooms. And, true to the spirit of the classic sci-fi that inspired the series, Keweter has sinister agenda: he wants to rule the world. Could, nevertheless, that he is, the master is still a devoted observer of mass culture. With his new technology, he says, he has "harmonized the soul and locked it inside a household shrine—the TV set."

Like the other hologrammed American networks, NBC is itself battling to reverse an honored duty in this household shrine. It is heavily promoting the program, billing it as an "Event Series." There is even a computer book, called *The Wild Palms Reader* (McGraw-Hill at \$19.95), which cautions on the characters' lives. The odds or majors, too, have turned to the movie list to research a movie talent for the small screen. NBC got the actor Harry Lennix (*Shine*) to produce *Platoon*, an off-beat police show set in Baltimore, which has been critical acclaim, but few ratings, since its debut in February. Penny Marshall recently stepped her movie hat about a woman's baseball team, *A League of Their Own*, into a civil series, *Wonderful Women*. Steven Spielberg, Francis Ford Coppola and Robert Altman are also among executives to the tube.

Stone's participation in *Wild Palms* series

to have guaranteed the show's four directors (the best known is Kathryn Bigelow) a degree of artistic freedom rarely seen on TV. Like *True Friends*, the David Lynch-directed activities that it sometimes seems to emote. Wild Palms ignores many conventions of the form. Screenwriter Brian Wagner, who developed the idea from his comic strip in the *Los Angeles Express*, is in no hurry to explain puzzling events and recurring characters about the show's four directors (the best known is Kathryn Bigelow) a degree of artistic freedom rarely seen on TV.



Scene from *Wild Palms*: holograms, nightmarish

users. And his dialogue is fast, often witty and full of pop-culture references and computer buzzwords. The cinematic references are apparent, too: unusual camera angles, evocative lighting and a compelling sound track that ranges from Bruce Springsteen by the Rolling Stones to the gorgeous compositions of Japanese composer Ryuichi Sakamoto. Like more and more television shows, *Wild Palms* offers moments of self-referential humor. In one sequence, Stone turns up on a TV set talking about *JFK*, his controversial 1991

movie about the Kennedy assassination. The talk-show host, connecting to Stone's allegations of a cover-up conspiracy, says, "So, 15 years later *JFK*, the film was released, and you were right. Are you better?"

The first episode demands a certain patience to watch. There are many characters, and their relationships in each other are unclear. The hero is Harry Wyckoff (Dennis Quaid), an ambitious yet morally aware man who is experiencing intense nightmares, usually involving a threescore. Wife Grace (Dana Delany) runs a chic dress shop and looks after their 10-year-old son, Cory, and daughter Destiny. They seem a relatively happy yuppie family, but there is tension on their married life. Mary McCormack's womanly best up someone on a neighboring town, at a restaurant where Harry is having lunch, suddenly turned into her another customer and drag his away from his table.

The scenario soon becomes even more serious when an alien of the future, Ken Cartmel in *Page 60*, asks him to help her locate her missing son. Through Harry's connections, Harry goes to work for Channel 3, which also fronts for the sector's elite television networks. Harry soon learns about the existence of the Father, a shadowy organization founded by Keweter, whose tactics reportedly include kidnapping and brainwashing children. A real group, the Friends, is determined to thwart the sector's presidential ambitions and dismantle his New Republic following. Father then you can see a commercial. Harry's friends and colleagues are disappearing—murdered or tortured in their secret ways.

While the story is plainly absurd, there is a discussion between the Father and the unknown that creates an unsettling tension. As the two sport Edwardian collars and ties and the women dance together in 1900s dresses and blue tones, there is talk of the "Florida disaster," a rumored nuclear attack that killed 80,000 people in Boca Raton. But what makes *Wild Palms* so endlessly gripping is the way that it embraces soap-opera melodrama and takes it to grotesque Grand Guignol levels. It is surely a comedy high (or low) to see Angie Dickinson (as Grace's mother, Joan) gracefully putting on white gloves as she prepares to go out to a rich man's eyes—or

strongly caring for her exhausted in a hug. By turns soft and gripping, darkly creepy and cheerfully funny, *Wild Palms* blows hot and cold. Like the political power of the State Perceptual analysts who explain that he has "a mild case of moral poisoning, most be something I have," some will find the series adjustable. But the series' novelty and the strong cast may well attract just what the scenario orders: a captive audience.

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FILMS

Black in the saddle

Bringing a hit of soul to the classic western

The western was supposed to be dead. But in the past few years, it has come back with a vengeance—and a revivified agenda. First, Kevin Costner overhauled the Hollywood north of the West with won with *Dances with Wolves* (1990), his romantic epic about Indian dignity. Then, last year, Clint Eastwood shot up his core gunfighters legend in the nonlinear western *Unforgotten*. Now, actor-director Mario Van Peebles has opened up a new frontier with *Pine*. Hollywood's first major black western is a younger, sadder, sexier western. It's an urban western, a new frontier. And it stands with focus on another landmark in the evolution of a genre that has become a barometer of attitudes towards violence in America.

The son of filmmaker Melvin Van Peebles, Mario, 56, began his career as an actor. He made a splashy directing debut two years ago with the critically acclaimed but New York City, a visceral, mostly charged melodrama about black drag births in Los Angeles. *Pose* is more ambitious and more impressive. It is a full-on action movie, rich with all the elements of a classic western. And Van Peebles is way ahead seeing it branded a black western. "We have more white people in *Pose* than *Unforgotten* had black people," he told *Melrose*'s in Los Angeles, recently.

"Just a escapist entertainment, but it does have an important message. While establishing the black cowboy's place in frontier history, it doubles as a tale for contemporary race war. 'There were a lot of things I wanted to do with *Amos*,' said Van Peebles. 'How many people know that one out of every three cowboys was black, or that of the 44 first settlers in Los Angeles, 26 were black?' How many people know the very name 'cowboy' came from the fact that slave herds used to take care of the livestock and they'd call them 'cows'?"

Aside from setting the historical record straight, Pusey is also riddled with allusions to the Rodney King trial and last year's Los Angeles riots. During a massive shoot-out, as white crusaders armed with heavy artillery are reducing a black township to splinters, a plaintive voice cries out abashedly from a storefront, "Can't we all just get along?"—a quotation from King. Another line, "No justice, no peace," echoes the slogan that galvanized Los Angeles blacks during the New Intl

Putting a righteous spin on brother justice, *Four* embraces the spirit of Malcolm X's credo: "By any means necessary." But unlike Spike Lee's movie, *Malcolm X*, which opens with video footage of the King beating, *Four* uses its contemporary performance for com-

rebut: "I wanted the cause to laugh at itself," said Van Peebles. "It's a western, and it's not trying to be anything else."

It is a cinematic tale that begins in the Civil War jungle during the Spanish-American War of the 1890s. Persecuted by a corrupt commanding officer (Gilly Katz), a sharp-shooter named Jesse (Van Peebles) and his lone lieutenant, Little J (Stephen Baldwin), live with a band of buchanan Indians (black is not a color) in the jungle. They then come up with a slick ruse to protect a sacred Native Time, played with flamboyant swagger by rap star Big Daddy Kane. Forcing an outlaw posse, they ride west, heading for Jesse's birthplace, a mission community called Freedom founded by ex-slaves after the Civil War.

©-Writer Jay Rothenberg based it on a black novel by the same name by his grandfather, Kwee Dede Lee's.

Jesus is returned on a mission of vengeance. His memory is scored by flashbacks to a white rampage that killed his father, a pastor, who was ironically crucified on the outer frame of his own church. Frommman's *St. Paul*, played by Blair Underwood of *TV's L.A. Law*, preaches Christ as coexistence. But Jesus sees racism in "a whole lot of colored people down on their knees praying 'for me in sky' . . . And religion is no defense against the white rapists from the neighboring towns, who are led by the vilest men Sheriff Bates (Richard Jordan)—the movie is a play on Garry Gates, the former L.A. police chief.

With *Paula*, Perrella displays a winning mix of nerve and vigor as a director. Skillfully weaving shifting from action to comedy to serious drama, he maintains a loose but taut style throughout. His camera almost never stops moving. One of the few times it does is for an awkward romantic interlude, a glossy falset of sex and sentiment. It is the film's one glaring weakness. And as Jesse's half Indian girlfriend, Lara, Seth Richardson gives a stilled performance in an underwritten role.

The director seems more at ease directing a skin-diving scene involving just the boys—a half-hearted homoerotic diversion that strips all the macho posturing down to its bare essentials. There is in every scene a gang move. And Perkins recruited his cast from several generations of black stars, from 1960s comedian Moseley Russell to support Tone Lac and Kane. He also cast his father as a nonverbal side

As the lead, meanwhile, the director projects the strong, silent charisma of Clint Eastwood in Sergio Leone's spaghetti-westerns—he even wears the same style of hat. Van Peebles, who appeared with Eastwood in *Hombre* (1960), says that the actor told him: "Sometimes it's better to play a character back a little bit from the audience. If they're interested, they'll lean in—just don't have to fill in all the blanks." Van Peebles has learned his lesson well. But he is riding with his own posse, and bringing a lot of soul to the Hollywood system.

HARRIS D. JOHNSON in Los Angeles

FILMS

Exiles in love

Romance can be torture among the uprooted

They are all dramas of discovery—three true movies about characters who learn the safety of home and academic searching upstairs. And none of them come from Hollywood. Two of the films are Australian: *The Last Days of Chester Wase*, an intimate drama about a family that survives, and *Whit Symington See*, a Gothic tale of artistic obsession set in 19th-century Jamaica. The third, a coproduction involving Canada—and Australia—called *Ship of the Hunter River*, is the story of a fish-ling scientist becomes an outlaw and a Meris woman.

The Last Days of Cheo Nuan is the most compelling of the three. Sensitive to the fact that Australia's Gideon Award-winning film *Brilliant Career*, it is about love, responsibility and betrayal. Both (Tom Hanks), a successful author, shares a house in Sydney with his husband, a career filmmaker (John C. Reilly). And during a visit by his free-spirited sister, Vicki (Sissy Spacek), it turns out to be more precious than the last had thought. While both drives into the desert with his father, he dies, back home, his sister and husband handle it on a secret basis. After

Juliana Rochester (Nathaniel Parker) sails from England to wed her in an arranged marriage. She falls deeply in love. But Rochester's English rationalism is disturbed by uncontrollable forces of sex, nature and obsession (violence). And their romance comes down to a primal clash between her Celtic spirit and his colonialism.

As usual, director John Dugan lets the drama unfold in a cascade of lyrical images set to an intriguing soundtrack by Steven Copeland. Dugan draws strong performances from both Parker and Claudia Rissotto, who plays the Blocheners' intruding housekeeper, Christogenea. But Lombard is weak in the central role. Although her character's mind is supposed to be at stake, it is hard to find much evidence of it behind her one-note performer. Her body, however, is eloquently displayed, with Parker's lecherous eye screams.

The *Blocheners* seem aimed to show a

tell-to-spell out the sea, the magic, the spiritualism. And the script is cluttered with numbers, exotic alliterations to join the dots. It leaves no room for subtlety. Powerful performances by the black actors evoke the proud spirit of the post-slavery Caribbean. And *White Squares* is a sea in exotic and exotic images. But lacking a final point of view, they coagulate into a choreo (nude of) mumbo jumbo.

Map of the Hudson: Hunt charts local life and agriculture and culture shock in a cold climate. A co-production involving Canada, England, France and Australia, the story begins in the Canadian Arctic. In 1955, Walter (Patrick Bergin), a map surveyor from Montreal, flies into an isolated village and winds up after 11 years of hard but failed Arctic (Robert) hunting off to a Montreal hospital, only to learn Louis (Joe) has succumbed amid the alienation of white society. Hunt strikes up a touching friendship with a M'etis girl named Alberta (Diane Gallagher). But his amnesia about the hospital's surgeon (Gordon MacDonald), who transfers him to Alberta in Ottawa.

The story then shifts to the Second World War. *Jack* plays by Hoskins actor James Scott Lee (frequently starring as *Dragnet*). *The Blue Lee Story*, has become a bomber crewmate based in England. There he recruits with Aleria, now portrayed by French actress Anne Parillaud (*Le Frère Nihiliste*). *Jack* works in a bomber command's London headquarters analysing aerial photographs. But, to *Jack's* dismay, she has become involved with Walker, who is now an air force colonel specialising in reconnaissance.

day metaphors abound as Ark navigates his romantic possibilities: reading *Afternoon* coded messages in photographs that he takes from his bomber. As the lovers blindly navigate their way to a whitewashed nation, Bernia's character harkens into a calculating flirtatious with a British air catastrophe. "Women are a mess," he says. "You've got to understand their longitude and how much latitude you can take."

The movie, directed and cowritten by New Zealander Uipenat Ward, errs on the side of liberalism. But the dialogue is strewn with racist statements about the plight of natives, which sound especially inane when coming from the muscaphony French-Parlaid. Mixing up actors and locations from all over the map, the film seems strained by the demands of international co-production. Jasmine and Galopex, both natives of northern Canada, are capturing in the film's haunting scenes on Huila Island. But as the children grow up, contrived acts in—and *Mop of the Human Road* loses on location.

DELANE B. JOHNSON



Mulroney's farewell embarrassment

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Several years ago by happenstance—something that happens to all lucky journalists—your agent found himself in the company of Chaim Herzog, president of Israel. He had made the long flight from Jerusalem and wanted a weekend recovery flight, yet lag at a quiet inn before starting his diplomatic schedule.

He eagerly agreed, though in his 90s. We went on a picnic and he entertained for hours—he was actually born in Britain—with his stories. He actually knew, because he once served there, that Elan Beter in Montreal is the only capital in the world colder than Ottawa.

In 1975 when the United Nations passed its infamous resolution regarding Zionism with racism, Herzog as Israel's UN delegate stood before the General Assembly and deftly ripped the resolution in half. Soon, with a trumpet in the ceremonial park, and a New York Times headline said it all: His Master is Greener and Now for a Graceland Day.

This anecdote brings to mind someone who is also retiring, a member of old guard every afternoon who whose exit is anything but graceful. The Dean Mulroney farewell tour has become embarrassing, something like an aging rocker who won't get off the stage. Mine is the last through Moose and Bonaville Pines and Lumbert. The Graceland Deal? The Belling Stairs? The Why?

It started with cheeriness in California to Ronald Reagan, who is glad to meet anyone these days. Then, that love in Texas, where he attempts to meet George Bush ended up with a front page debacle. (Why would a bare back want to meet an actor with a first deck?)

Mulroney is retiring in a most peculiar fashion these final days. Talk about defiance—as if purposely evading a crowd at what he must know is the public road, he has been driven out of office by the relative truth at the popularity polls, just as in parallel fashion, Jordan Johnson in 1986 declined to run again because of the public revulsion over his Vietnam capture. Neither one could face



the prospect of certain defeat at the polls.

What is so remarkable is the great truth: the earlier explanation is his utterance speech but he was doing this only so he could ensure that as assumed Conservative successor in the prime minister's chair could whip the Guts in the fall.

Now, with this grandiose farewell tour somewhat resembling a living still toasting the farewell spirit stages of the world, he tries the impression that he and only he, has the clout to influence world leaders with all the wisdom garnered in East Coasts, Westcoasts and the Bita Carles on the seaboard.

There is an important new book out, *Edge of Allergies: The Americanization of Canada in the Mulroney Years*. It's by Lawrence Martin, formerly *The Globe and Mail* correspondent in both Moscow and Washington. He has obtained White House and state de-

partment memos "showing the American scrutiny towards Ottawa from the moment Mulroney entered 24 Sussex Drive and his private declared: 'Canada is open for business'."

Recent, with his fatherly attitude towards his young Irish friend, constantly reassured any of his cabinet doubters in any cross-hair der dermo. "I'm undermanned." Of course he did, and that's why we're moving over more towards an American design.

Martin details how Mulroney's close American friend was not a high-level Washington figure or respected academic or commentator but Washington-born Ross Johnson, who was at the centre of the most disgraced episode of American corporate life in the 1980s: the greedy attempt to do an insider takeover of RJR Nabisco to make even more millions on top of his millions.

"What mattered to Johnson," writes Martin, "were the perks and the power, and the money came piled in front of them." He remained himself with sports superstars, corporate jets and the opulence of a long Mulroney and Mike became fast friends with Johnson and with Laurie. The four of them would get together to do Manhattan and celebrate success.

Is this really the type of corruption one would like to see the prime minister of Canada covering up?

The grand scene of a departing Canadian prime minister waiting airplanes on a Texas tarmac in hopes that a show will let us be calm and great what's left of our pride on a departed president to roll out to congratulate. The effort to see the new but tired Queen at Buckingham Palace for one last photo opportunity is depressing to the soul.

No politician likes to leave the spotlight, but this guy makes Harry Fauder and even Frank Sinatra seem dignified.

His story was that he was leaving his throne for the good of the party, and a younger leader would refresh another Tory opposition leader—this time a vector would pass the torch to a vector. But now, his ego is the driving force—not his proclaimed intention to ensure that a Conservative successor can beat Jean Chrétien when the leaves fall the autumn.

In truth, this vainglorious attempt at atoning intention to himself is deceiving Sam Campbell and Jean Chrétien—strictly re-creating names of governmental excess, pretensions of an imperial master, here to take a Canadian himself for a major figure on the world scene.

Only he knows how silly he seems.

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